Department of **Political Science**

***Chair* Political Economy Development**

"WITHOUT KNOWLEDGE, THERE IS NO FREEDOM":
A journey across the dominant role of education for the sustainable and universal development of Sub-Saharan Africa.

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Introduction

The paper 's aim is to give a well-defined universal scenario, about the role and the force of education as an engine in the domestic growth and macro development in scale.
This is done through a data research on empirical factors that simply confirm the idea that, in modern times, the relationship between education and school quality and economic growth, is inevitable and crucial to develop a sustainable economic system for developing countries.

Education, more than been recognized as an inviolable right is also the main source of population for the acquirement of personal cognitive skills, which are necessary to be composed by active and productive agents, able to preserve oneself from injustices and being independent and self-reliant. But education is not only a right, it is also a duty.

In the 21st century is crucial that much of the population is literate and skilled, otherwise they would become unable to provide necessities for them and their families, unable to be hired in the work-world, because of their lack of skills, and this would be translated into a burden for the national economy, that spend money for subsidies or repetitions instead to invest them in better education, healthcare assistance or competiveness in trade.

Fundamental assistants to the enhancement of the educational system are the efficient government's educational strategies.

Governments can prevent school failure and reduce dropout using two parallel approaches: eliminating system level practices that hinder equity and targeting low performing disadvantaged schools. But education policies need to be aligned with other government action, such as housing or welfare, to ensure student success.

The United Nations firstly recognized education, in the Sustainable Development Agenda, as one of the first five goals to achieve until the end of 2030; SDG 4 is to ensure education for all, promoting a sustainable system of equity and quality.
Developing countries, such as Sub-Saharan Africa, will be the main agents and protagonist of the analysis, also because they are very far from the breakage of the poverty cycle and that of gender roles.

Even if developed countries have already achieved a necessary and spread basic educational level, the illiteracy rate still burden over the estimate level of education, but the phenomena deserve a deeper research which is not a necessary object of the discussion.

The poverty cycle is feed by the lack of completion of necessary years of schooling. A very high percentage of children never finish the primary school level or do not even enter school.

This lack of essential experiences, as already said, keeps children out of the world, out of access and opportunities, and spread all over the world a deep sense of inequality.

What certainly prevent universal education and access to schools in Sub-Saharan Africa, is that, the school access remains an elite phenomenon that cuts-off an intensive group of children, which is designated to poverty and stagnation in it, because of its social and economic background.

During the analysis, the idea that the socio-economic background is crucial determinant of the educational outcomes, is glaring.

Among the determinant factors of the future children's path, in addition to the economic disposal of families, it is necessary also to consider the district conditions of where the children live and the distance from school. Students living in urban areas are four times more likely to start their years of schooling than those who reside in rural areas.

Another factor that is analyzed and discovered as source of market and education failures, is the lack of gender parity in enter-into-school rates.

The concept of education is very intricate as it is part of a broader problem of the system which is based on the perfect and mutual balance of every agents, unifying both social, political and economic spheres. This three elements impact and are dependent to one another, and as one of them get stronger or weaker, the others will follow, suffering or enjoying new results.

Because educational levels affect the personal skills, which are identified as the key to work hiring's and to direct inputs to production, the economic growth of a country is very likely to be directly impacted and associated with the level of proficiency of its relative citizens.

Where national governments do not arrive, international institutions, such UNICEF, FAO and United Nations institute a set of adjustment programs, research, *Cash Transfer Program* and subsidies that work for the creation of sustainable living conditions for poorest and vulnerable quintile, leaving them with the decisional power on how to spend or invest their money.

The first chapter will provide the general scenarios and report the Real Global Data of education, the development program that has been instituted and the specific situation in Sub-Saharan Africa, with the relative quantitative and qualitative data on attendances and impacts on production and employment trade.

The consequences of unequal path in education and the government intervention and the opportunity costs, follow in the second next chapter, entering in more specific terms, areas and level of education.

Different Cash Transfer Programs have been theorized through evaluative research methodology, but only five have been taken into consideration, focusing on the sub-Saharan regions. The last chapter will focus on the real importance of education in the economic system and in the labor market, the relative human capital and the expected social consequences of Educational Industry.

Chapter 1

1.1 The Sustainable Development Program of 2030:

In September 2015, at the United Nations Sustainable Development Summit, Member States formally adopted the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development in New York. The agenda contains 17 goals including a new global education goal (SDG 4). SDG 4 is to *"ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all'* and has seven targets and three means of implementation.

The agenda has been written after an intensive consultative process led by Member-States, but with broad participation from civil society, teachers, unions, bilateral agencies, regional organizations, the private sector and research institutes and foundations.

Goals to achieve in the Millennium Development Goals for Sustainable Development:

Goal 1. Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger

Goal 2: Achieve universal zero hunger

Goal 3: Good Health and Well-Being

Goal 4: Quality Education

Goal 5: Gender Equality

Goal 6: Clean Water and Sanitation

Goal 7: Ensure affordable and clean energy

Goal 8: Decent work and economic growth

Goal 9: Industry, Innovation and Infrastructure

Goal 10: Reduced inequality

Goal 11: Sustainable cities and communities

Goal 12: Responsible consumption and production

Goal 13: Climate action

Goal 14: Life below water

Goal 15: Life on land

Goal 16: Peace, Justice and strong institutions

Goal 17: Partnership for the goals

The SDG is a challenge for many African countries that are very far to meet the precondition of stability and sustainability of the growth and, as the World Bank Report "Accelerating Catch-up" of 2009 suggests "*they are faced with tightening constraints on growth arising from higher prices for energy and food, climate change and stiff entry barriers to the global markets for manufactures"*.

The core of the economic development is dependent to the level of competiveness in the tradable activities and to the perfect union of two complements; *Education and Capital,* so those productive capacities that never stop to modernize and to ameliorate the general social conditions.
This two variables are the engine and the core of the growth and of the wellbeing of citizens and the under developed states must invest in these two essential elements to start their resurgence towards the stable wellbeing of the whole country.

The effectiveness and the achieving of the minimum productivity depend on the level of investments that the Sub-Saharan African countries make in the infrastructures, in the productive facilities but most important in human capital and in the amelioration of high-order quality of human skills that are necessary to reach a fair level of competiveness; "*The key to economic success in a globalized world lies increasingly in how effectively a country can assimilate the available knowledge and build comparative advantage in selected areas with good growth prospects, and in how it can enlarge the comparative advantage by pushing the frontiers of technology through innovation"(World Bank report, 2009).*

If the technical and managerial skills do not work for the long-term, but rest in short supply term, the physical investments cannot be conveniently implemented and knowing that the market and non-market institutions cannot work properly when human capital is scarce, there is the necessity of accelerating the Research and Development activities (R&D) with longer-term prospects that would bring enormous better returns.
So, the core statement of this analysis is the interdependence between the level of physical human capital and the relative fluctuating level of productivity.
The origins of this interrelation are recognizable in the competitive pressures of the globalized economy and in its intense and never-ending technological change.

"By raising the level of education and its quality, countries in SSA may be able to stimulate innovation, promote the diversification of products and services, and maximize returns from capital assets through more efficient allocation of resources and management. In the face of competition from South and East Asian countries, a more skill-intensive route to development could provide both resource-rich and resource-poor countries an avenue for raising domestic value added" (World Bank,2009).

The analysis of the report that is going to follow will first give a general outlook of the current situation of education in the world, specifying the situation in SSA.
Then a comparison of primary and secondary education in low-income country, middle income country and high income country, and see where are the biggest gaps.

Finally, include the same calculus on the level of education into primary school, secondary school and tertiary level in the SSA country and enrich the research by focusing on the differences among gender, attendance, enrollment, out-of-school level, geographical position and level of equality.

The reason why the quality of education has become one of the main global issue is due to the centrality that it has in the development process from an economic, social and political point of view. Education is the key for a sustainable development path because it allows people to break the poverty cycle, to increase their proficiency of skills in labor zone and it diminishes the inequalities between genders.
Education and Awareness empower people with a healthy life and make them conscious of materializing their skills for sustainability and how to create a productive society, *improving civic participation* (Milling et al, 2004) and *reducing criminal activity* (Moretti, 2004).

Education increases tolerance among differences, helps to reach psychological stability and freedom that boost general well-being.
Despite gains in recent decades to increase educational attainment, developing countries are beset by the mounting demand for skills in the 21st century.
But the most noteworthy definition when referring to Education is that of an "*inviolable and fundamental human right"* and without it the value of life is destined to diminish and to disappear. Although its inviolability, one every five children is still out of school and denied of this right; very often these children are the same that come from the poorest countries.

The World's Bank STEP Skill Measurement Program is an initiative to measure skills in low and middle-income countries that aspire to provide policy-relevant data for a better acknowledgment of skill requirements in labor market; the required skills are absorbed during the educational/school period; so, the investigation is done by covering the social background and investigating the role of education in ensuring equal access to decent employment in today's labor markets.

1.2 "No exception, no exclusions and nobody left behind":

In least developed countries, large segments of the working population have completed but less than primary schooling while middle income countries feature a comparatively more educated populace in terms of qualifications (standardized test scores show that the average level of skills in these countries fall well below that of the mean for OECD countries).
Moreover, for the same level of educational attainment, cross-country gaps in skill proficiency are more pronounced thus suggesting that same level of schooling does not confer the same amount of skills;

"In an age where jobs that offer the highest returns demand ever higher levels of analytical as well as interpersonal skills, an emphasis on quality in addition to quantity of schooling is thus warranted.
The lack of quality assurance mechanisms in many education systems today results to additional investments in quantity with little to no return to the individual"
(*Global Education Monitoring Report, UNESCO, 2016).*

It is worth to say that the world's level of education is different among countries. The situation in middle-high income countries is very different in respect to low-middle income.
The bitterest obstacle in education attendance is the persistent disparities in participation that are linked to gender, location and very often to the level of wealth.
The new *Sustainable Development Goal Program*, SDG 4, works for an inclusive and equitable quality of education, spanning not only gender parity in learning but also equitable educational opportunities for people with disabilities, disadvantaged people and others who are at risk of exclusion from education. It also covers an ambitious range of targets, including the pledge to *"ensure that all girls and boys completely free, equitable and quality primary and secondary education leading to relevant and active learning outcomes and to eliminate gender disparities in education and ensure equal access to all levels of education and vocational training for the vulnerable, including persons with disabilities, indigenous peoples and children in vulnerable situations' by 2030*" (United Nations, 2015).

The SDG 4 works on two *key principles* for the interpretation of indicators of disadvantaged groups are; *Impartiality and Equality of Condition.*
The concept of impartiality in the access to education is also stated in the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948* where it is evidently established an *"access to school based on merit and individual capability and should not be affected by circumstances outside the control of individuals, such as gender, birthplace ethnicity, religion, language, income, wealth and disability".*

The text of article 26 follows:

(1) Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all based on merit.

(2) Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

(3) Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

In the educational scenario, the core role is given to the different levels of equity in the learning process, indeed it is exactly there that the entire literature and surveys start their journey of analysis.
As the *Unesco Institute for Statistics* suggested, the several levels of education equity could be classified into five categories: *meritocracy, minimum standards, impartiality, equality of condition and redistribution*. All five indicators are bind tightly to the philosophical debate of equality of opportunity.

As mentioned before, the learning degrees, around the world, are highly unequal. This is not only due to the different levels of wealth of each region, but it is linked also to institutional features of school systems, such as political engagement and expenditures, drop-out rates and unequal access to different types of provider (OECD, 2012).
Obviously, the OECD countries do make a more appropriate quantity of investments in the education sectors, which positively affect the quality of school timing and the equality of access (Pfeffer,2015).
As the "*Handbook on Measuring Equity in Education*, 2018" suggests, if we convene on the public economic return from education "*it is sometimes sufficient to argue for a more equal distribution of educational resources; primary education is often found to have higher economic returns than the secondary education and the boost in productivity as workers go from no education to primary education is higher than the boost associated with moving from primary education to secondary education"*.
This would clearly denote that the target of new educational investments on those who did not conclude the primary level, would result as highest returns.

1.3 The International Standard Classification of Education:

The European countries follow, a universal program, the *International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED)* as a statistical calculation for the organization of the information over education in United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).
The ISCED stated three main different patterns of education organization, within compulsory education:

- The first program is named *Single Structure Education,* where education is provided from the beginning to the end of the compulsory schooling, without any discrimination and providing a common program for all pupils;
- The second program is the *Common Core Curriculum Provision,* where all students follow the same general common core curriculum;
- The third program named as *differentiated lower secondary education,* where after the completion of the primary education, students are required to follow different and preferred educational pathways, at the beginning or ending of the lower secondary education

(The Structure of the European Educational System, Published by European Commission, November 2014).

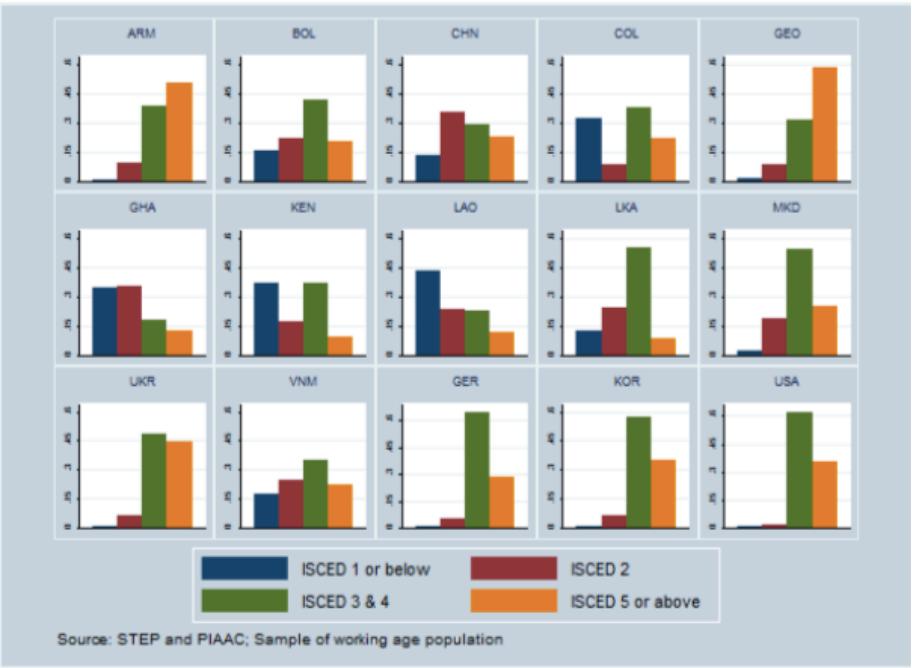
Traditional economic thinkers, such as Roemer and Weil, in 1993, stressed the correlation, basing their analysis on the Solow model, between the level of education and the economic and individual growth by including proxies of human capital accumulation as explanatory variable for the growth.
Lucas (1988), assumes that although there are decreasing returns to physical-capital accumulation when human capital is held constant, the returns to all reproducible capital (human plus physical) are constant.
To build a serious and empirical discussion about the world level of education, the first thing to do is a *cross-country comparison* of years of schooling attainment; UNESCO and *International Standard Classification of Education* wrote an international benchmark for education system worldwide, grouped into the following ranks:
-either primary or less: ISCED 1
-lower secondary: ISCED 2
-upper secondary: ISCED 3 and 4
-tertiary education: ISCED 5

The advanced test that UNESCO carries out is based on the main traditional distinction between two skill domains, the literacy and the numeracy, departing from the primary standardized calculation of cognitive skills, so on the capacity to process solutions for different problems, which depend not only on the entire length of schooling but mostly on the quality of this years.
Two dimensions of assessment quality are relevant: (a) an enabling institutional context must ensure sustainability and do have strong links with the education system; and (b) nationally representative assessments should be valid and reliable, providing relevant information to policy-makers and the public.
Nationally representative assessments need to be aligned with education goals and student learning objectives as well as with opportunities to develop teachers professionally (GEM REPORT,2016).

The survey also focuses on *how much educations level do impact on personal cognitive skills, which are identified in understanding more complex ideas and problems, on the adaption to the environment and on the raising of productivity and as direct inputs in production, estimating the returns to education as rewards to skills accumulated in school and the level of engagement in various form of reasoning* (Neisser et al, 1996).

The results are easy deducible; the OECD countries (such as those who took part to the European Economic Cooperation program in 1948, after the Marshall Plan for reconstruction of the continent after the war), completed with success every task of each level of proficiency; the worst-performing countries are Bolivia with a score of Level 1 range proficiency and the Sub-Saharan nation with a rank below Level 1 (Ghana and Kenya more than half the potential urban workforce are able to process simple texts).

Fig.1 : International Standard Classification of Education



Unquestionably, the capturing of only functional literacy forgets to consider the other skill dimensions, most notably, attitudes toward workplace such as openness, tolerance, capacity to work in peer and in a group, which are the design of labor market and society. *These non-cognitive skills are not only predicted in the school's performance but also various employment and social outcomes as earnings and involvement in crimes* (Heckman, Stixrud and Urzua, 2006).

The skilled used in the workplace are developed in school and the natural measure of the demand for skills in the labor market is the *qualification,* that is, the quantity of schooling, necessary for the job. Under the standardized measure, the occupational distribution fully determines the education required in the labor market; managerial, professional and technician jobs require education level of ISCED 5 or higher. On the other hand, elementary occupations required ISCED 2 or lower.

The rest of the occupation groups11 require ISCED 3 or 4. These jobs are classified as high-skilled, low-skilled, and middle-skilled respectively (Garry Chua Kenn, 2016).

The results demonstrate that the enlargement of the access to education is vital not only for the diminishing of the disparities' gap but also for decent and necessary employment conditions in the future.

1.4 The Real Global Data:

Globally, 263 million children, adolescents and youth between the ages of 6 and 17 are currently out of school, (representing nearly one-fifth of the global population of this age group) according to a new set of UIS indicators and they also reveal that the progress that have been done until last years, with a reduction of more than 1 million per year, are now in a steady-state.

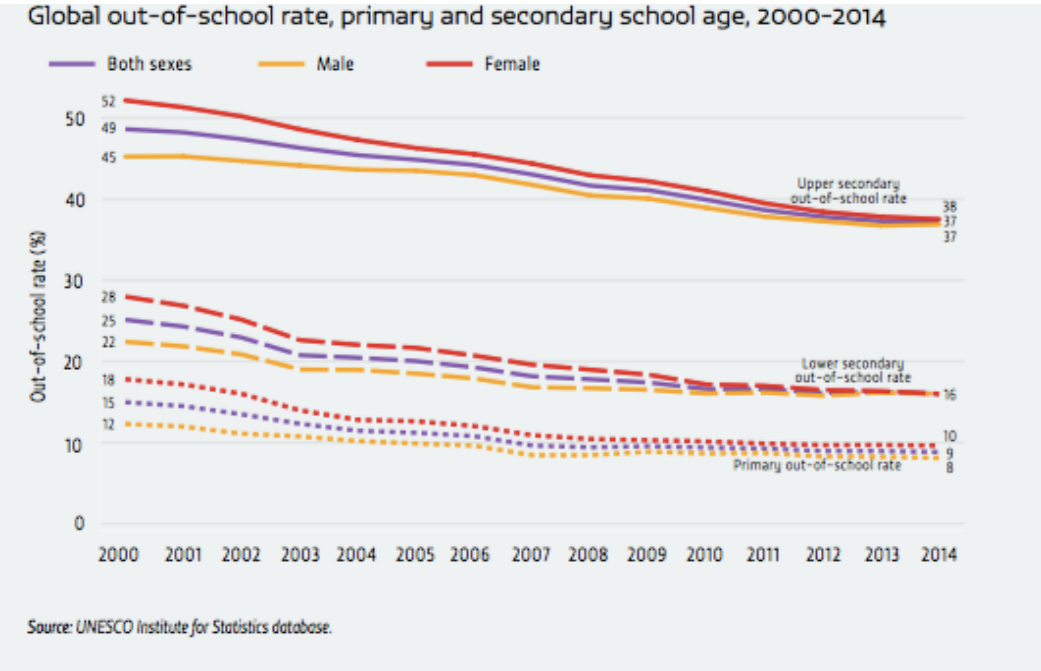
A key obstacle to achieving the target is the persistence of disparities in education, participation due to sex, location and wealth, especially at the secondary level.

The number includes 61 million children of primary school age (about 6 to 11 years), 60 million young adolescents of lower secondary school age (about 12 to 14 years) and 142 million youth of upper secondary school age (about 15 to 17 years) (UIS, 2016).

To enforce the evaluation, new indicators are used to develop the framework to monitor the *Sustainable Development Goals* and *Education 2030;* The indicators cover children, adolescents and youth from primary to upper secondary age.

The three rates of out-of-school children, adolescents and youth follow a similar path but after an evident decline in the years after 2000, the primary out-of-school rate moved around 9% since 2008 and the lower secondary out-of-school rate has been at 16% since 2012.

Fig.2 Global out-of-school-rate, primary and secondary school age, 200-2014

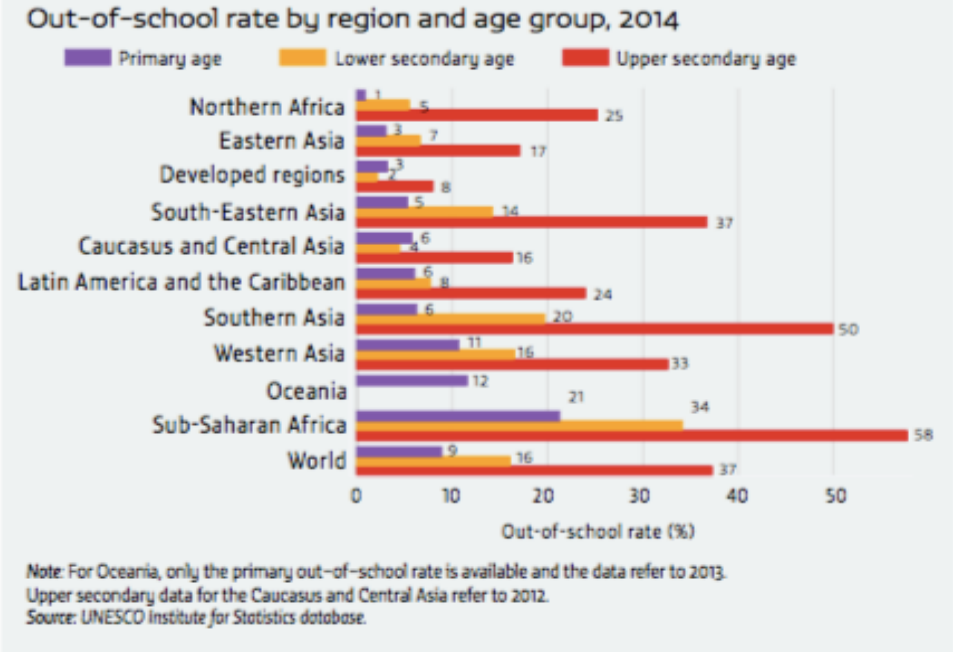


The global averages of school-missing mask the gender inequality issues, where 54% of out-of-school youth is composed by female; apparently from the data the difference in the global rate is very feeble: 19% of girls compared to 18% of boys, but a closer sight shows that girls are more likely to remain excluded from education while out-of-school boys stand a greater chance of entering. Upper secondary school-age is four times as likely to be out of school as children of primary age and more than twice as likely to be out of school as adolescents of lower secondary school age.

The higher level of out-of-school rates for older cohorts are evident when we add to the calculus the rate of poverty of the country and that of the family back-ground from which they come from; to interpret this data, it is also necessary to remember that while primary and lower secondary school are compulsory in nearly all countries, the upper secondary it is not; youth of upper secondary age found themselves at the age of legal working and thus have the possibility to choose employment rather than continuing and consolidate their educational path.

SDG4 advocates on the number of youth not in employment, education or training (NEET): the out-of-school rate, as already said, tend to increase when youth reach the age for legal employment and start to search for work.

Fig.3 Out-of-School Rate by region and age group, 2014



The global number of out-of-school children of primary school age has remained almost the same for the past seven years.

Of the 61 million out-of-school children, 34 million or more than half live in sub-Saharan Africa, due in part to high population growth rates in the region.

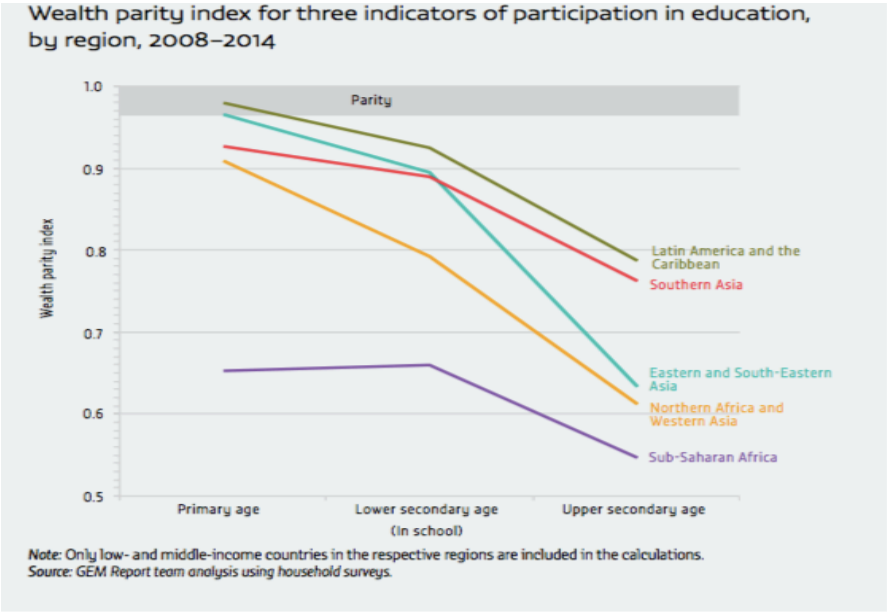
Sub-Saharan Africa has also the highest rate of exclusion, with 21% of primary school age denied of the right to education and have the widest gender gap; 23% of girls against 19% of boys are out of school.

In 2014, the areas affected by armed conflicts were home to 21,5 million of the global number of out-of-school children, plus 15 million of out-of-school adolescents and 18% of out-of-school upper secondary age.

Boys are more likely to finish or at least have access to education, Girls instead very often are totally excluded from education; from UIS data, 15 million of girls of primary school age will never learn to read and write, compared to 10 million boys.

Only in Sub-Saharan Africa, 9 million girls will never attend school classes compared to 6 million boys. Sub-Saharan Africa is also one of the region with 34% of highest rate of out-of-school adolescents, were females rate is 36% compared to 32% of males.

When we analyze, at global level, the factors that contribute to impact and to strengthen the persistence of disparities among children and youth in the school-attendance and access to primary as well as secondary education, a prerequisite is the parity index as objective list of the *Intern-agency Group on Education Inequality Indicators of 2016*, where three indicators across regions are established: *Sex, Location and Wealth*. The *parity index* is the ratio between the indicator values of two groups. It ranges from 0 (extreme inequality at the expense of one group) over 1 (parity) to infinity (extreme inequality at the expense of the other group). Parity is considered achieved if the index is between 0.97 and 1.03.



Among the 5 world regions (only low and middle income are included), considering the primary school age, Northern Africa, Western Asia and Southern Asia achieved a *wealth parity index* just over 0.90 and Sub-Saharan Africa only 0-65.

The wealth parity condition in terms of school attendance seems to be present only in Latin America and the Caribbean, but close to realization in Eastern and South Eastern Asia.

Divergences for youth of lower secondary and upper secondary school age are more evident: in Eastern and South-Eastern Asia, the parity index of lower secondary age is 0.89 but only 0.63 among upper secondary. The lowest values are still experienced by Sub-Saharan Africa with 0.55.

Even if the convergence toward parity has increased globally, disparities of access linked to gender role, differ also from rich to poor family background and are empirically evident through two opposite trends:

The first indicates, particularly in secondary level, that large disparities exists at the damages of females in poorer regions but at the expense of males in richer countries.

Indeed, "*Gender differences in education qualification are the logical extension of gender differences in educational performance among 15-years-old students. Boys at that age are more likely than girls to be all-round low achievers*" (OECD, 2017).

Strictly speaking, boys of OECD countries perform the baseline level of proficiency, in the three subjects tested in PISA assessments: readings, mathematics and science, that is below the girl's level.

The second trend indicates the disparities in gender balance between poorest and richest children, adolescents and youth.

For all regions, with the except of Sub-Saharan Africa, the richest enjoy gender parity in education attendance for youth of primary, lower secondary and upper secondary school age.

However, in the poorest countries the disparities are experienced by girls in three of five regions, which is reinforced at higher education level (Global Education Monitoring, 2008-2014).

The world is proceeding towards gender parity in out-of-school rates. Historically, girls and women are more likely to be excluded from education and although globally the out-of-school rate, for lower and upper secondary school-age population, between boy and girls has been reduced, the gender gap among children of primary school age has dropped more than 5% points in 2000 to "% points in 2016.

This trend could also be interpreted in values of *adjusted gender parity index (GPIA),* a new indicator developed by the *Unesco Institute for Statistics* and published for the first time in 2017 (UIS AND GEMR,2017).

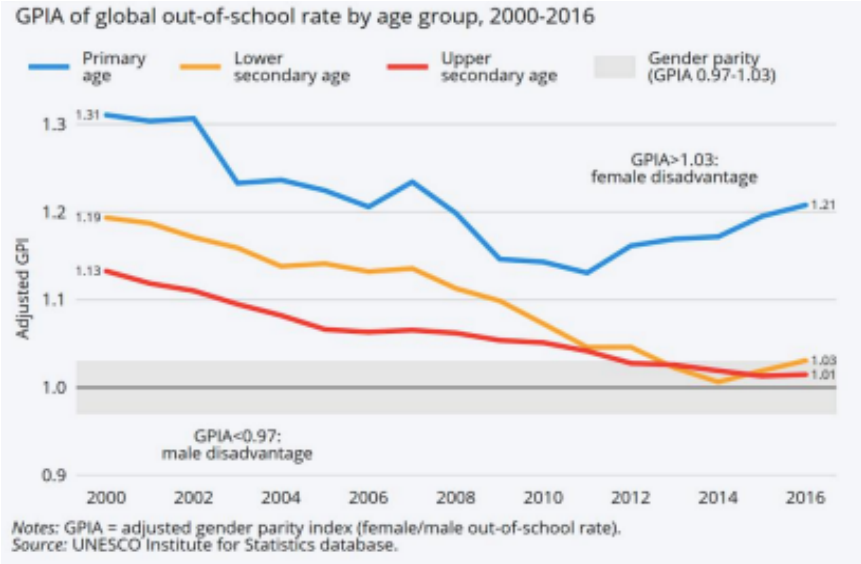
As the *UIS Fact Sheet No.48 of February 2018* states*: The adjusted GPI of the global primary out-of-school rate fell from 1.31 in 2000 to a low of 1.13 in 2011, but in recent years, there was a small uptick.*

This was due to the continued decline of the male out-of-school rate combined with a small increase in the female out-of-school rate.

This means that, globally, girls of primary school age are still more likely to be out of school compared to boys.

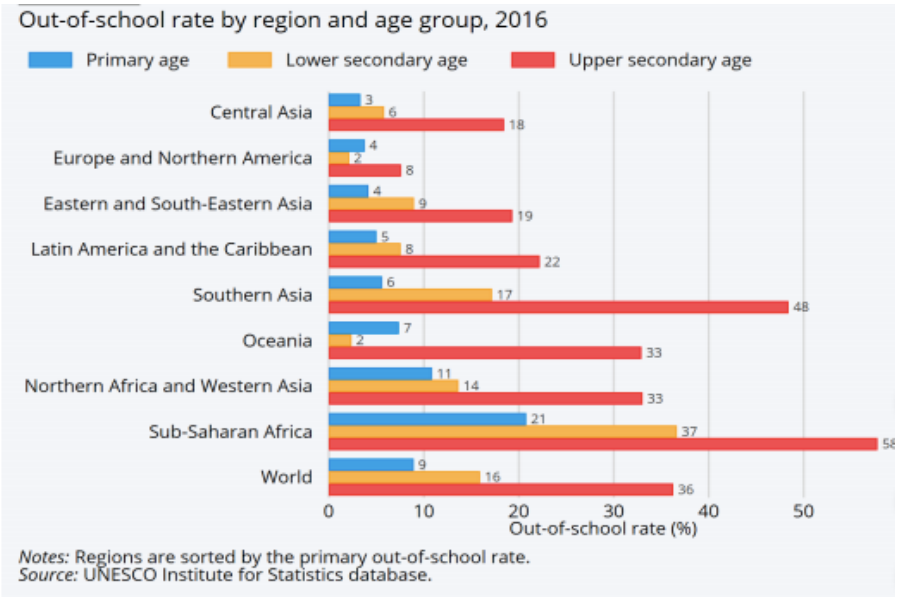
In contrast, the most recent values of the adjusted GPI for the lower secondary and upper secondary out-of-school rates are in the gender parity range between 0.97 and 1.03, meaning that males and females in these age groups have the same probability of being out of school.

Fig.4 GPIA of Global out-of-school rate by age group, 2000-2016



Obviously, the global reading hide the enormous gap between countries; The SGD monitored the different regions into a set of geographical areas named as *United Nation Statistics Division* (UNSD): In all regions, the out-of-school numbers are higher among youth of upper secondary than younger students. Totally, 139 million upper secondary school-age youth were not in school in 2016, more than 14 million than the combined number of out-of-school children of primary and lower secondary age. The worst rates are experienced by sub-Saharan Africa with 58%, a further 36 million, and Southern Asia with 48%, 67 million.

Fig.5 Out-of-school rate by region and age group, 2016



Gender disparities persist at micro level; in 2000, 54% of the 378 million of all out-of-school youth were female. By 2016, the female global share had fallen until 50%. However, school girls face disadvantages in most regions, except for Latin America, Europe and Northern America, were, as already stated, boys tend to be more out of school than girls.

The widest gender disparity, across every school-age group, is suffered by Sub-Saharan Africa; for every 100 boys of primary school there are 123 girls denied of the inviolable right of education. Data also make think that girls who achieve the primary level of schooling tend to continue and pursue their studies.

Poverty levels are also closely linked to gender disparities in education.

A comparison of male and female out-of-school rates shows that in low-income countries females are more likely to be out of school than males, while the opposite can be observed in high-income countries.

The phenomena are very interesting: In the richest countries female are more likely to continue their studies after that the compulsory level of education has been reached.

The males, instead, tend to leave their direction towards skills improvement and start to look for employment.

1.5 Sub-Saharan Africa with the highest out-of-school rates:

The direction of Sub-Saharan Africa has not consistently changed; it is still the region with the worst level of out-of-school children for all age:

Approximately, of the 63 million of children which is out of school, 34 million live in Sub-Saharan Africa. The burden is intensified by the 21% of out-of-school children of primary school which are denied by the right of education.

Despite years of steady growth in enrolment rates, the education situation in Sub-Saharan Africa continues to threaten the future of entire generations. New UIS data show that 88% of all children and adolescents will not be able to read proficiently by the time they are of age to complete primary and lower secondary education.

If current trends continue, this crisis will affect about 202 million children and adolescents, including 138 million of primary school age and 63 million of lower secondary school age. Across the region, girls of primary school age face the greatest disadvantage. More than 70 million girls – or 90% – will not meet minimum proficiency levels in reading by the time they are of age to complete primary education. This is the case for 85% of boys (UIS Fact Sheet No. 46, 2017)

When we look at the causes of this extreme and unsustainable conditions, the notion of *education quality* comes to mind very quick; the quality is not very easy to define but there are some basic features that are interpret as crucial for educational outcomes. These variables include the teaching workforce, the availability

of educational resources, the supportive learning environment and the access to basic services in instructional settings (e.g. sanitation, clean water and electricity).

The Pan African Institute of Education for Development (IPED) and the Association for the Development of Education in Africa (ADEA) have hardly worked in collaboration with the UIS to the creation of new monitoring indicators toward the goals of African Union's Second Decade of Education (2006-2015).

The Action Plan has eight priority areas, each of which includes specific goals, strategies and monitoring indicators:

1. Gender and Culture – to eliminate gender disparities and ensure gender equality.

2. Education Management Information Systems – to improve data quality and facilitate education planning based on sound information.

3. Teacher Development – to ensure the provision of sufficient numbers of qualified and motivated teachers to meet the demand for education.

4. Tertiary Education – to revitalize higher education across the continent and promote African-led solutions to African problems.

5. Technical and Vocational Education and Training – to provide youth with quality education and greater opportunities in the world of work.

6. Curriculum, Teaching and Learning Materials – to ensure the development of balanced, relevant, responsive and culturally-sensitive curricula.

7. Quality Management – to improve access to education as well as its relevance and equity through sound management.

8. Early Childhood Care and Development – to ensure effective caring practices within the family and community so that children can develop their full cognitive, emotional, social and physical potential.

(African Union, 2009)

Chapter 2

2.1 Unequal patterns to Education:

The overall situation is easy deducible already from the first chapter but what it is not as much effortless is the eradication of the problem. The general scenario must change and it will, only with the cohesive contribution and collaboration between the developed countries and those countries, such as the Sub-Saharan one, which necessitate investments and proper assistance to ameliorate and to create better surrounding for families and future generations.

The ground for better condition is not only determined by quality and equality to school attainments among genders and social class but it is dependent to government policies that aim to reduce the level of poverty.

Many Sub-Saharan countries, identified the role of education as the engine of poverty reduction, are providing, including indicators related to race, socioeconomic background and gender, the admission process and are implementing programs to a more equitable access to underrepresented groups.

Because knowledge is the driver of productivity and for the economic growth, and these goals are achievable only building human capital through more accessible, equitable and better-quality education and training systems.

The demographic challenge of a fast-growing youth population in the SSA region is exactly where the opportunity lies; If SSA countries can equip an expanding pool of youth with access to education, endow them with cognitive, socioemotional and technical skills, they would create conducive environment for job-creating business.

Despite the significant growth in the employment enroll and in the provision of higher education, the school access remains an elite phenomenon and it is not inserted into the mass system. This is so, also because the social background and the household in which children are born, still play a decisive role and the gap between rich and poor is very controversial.

In South Africa, for example, it has been registered the highest disparity in income distribution, even if it is the most developed country on the continent.

Obviously, this would mean that highest income students will dominate the enrollment in tertiary level and in other institution of higher education, not allowing lower income background students to enroll in school and create the opportunity to increase their skills.

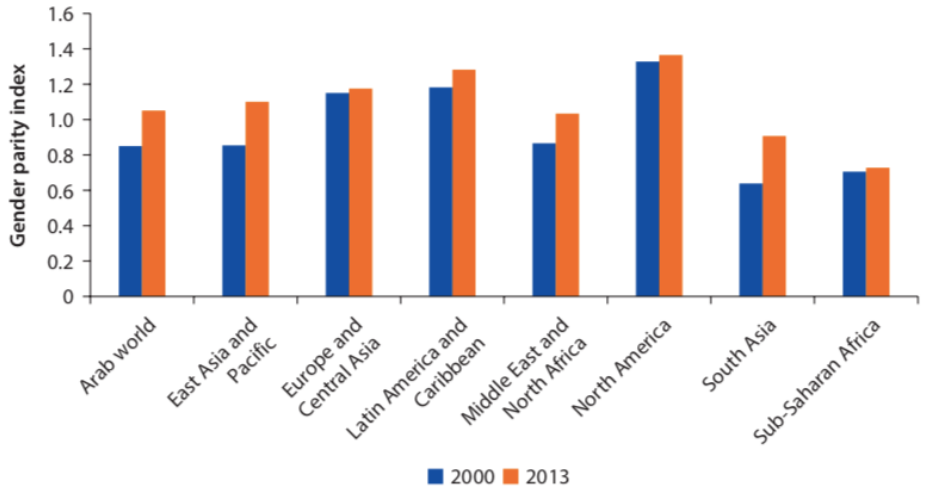
"*Beyond the matter of enrollment and attendance, students from disadvantaged backgrounds who do enroll in higher education are more likely to drop out than their peers from comparatively privileged backgrounds. Because of a higher incidence of interrupting studies for periods of full-time employment, lower- income students are also more likely to take longer to complete their education than students from richer households* "(Chimanikire, 2009).

One of the most positive social implications with education is linked to the increment in the female participation to school education, which, at tertiary enrollment level, is still lower than male participation. In SSA countries, the Gross Enrollment Ratio (GER) for the female population has increased from 3.7 percent in 2000 to 7.0 percent in 2013, at an annual rate of 5 percent.

For every 100 male students enrolled in the tertiary education system of SSA in 2013, there were only approximately 72 female students (World Bank EdStats, 2015).

The persistence of gender inequity is intrinsically related to the legacy of colonialism, where educational system was thought to exclusively educate African men as support and the entrenched gender biases and unintentionally gender-insensitive polices enshrined within the tertiary institutions of the region discriminate against female students, with negative implications for female access to tertiary education (Egbo,2000).

Fig.6 Gender Parity Index, 2000-2013



Source: World Bank EdStats 2015.

As already stated, the background, the family and the social context from which students come from is a crucial determinant of their future pathways.

The relationship between the socioeconomic status and that of their off-springs appears to be very significant and positive, across a range of measurement of status (Hertz et al.,2007).

Data from the Word Bank Group on SSA household surveys confirm the presence of the direct relation between the level of education of the parents and that of their children.

Inevitably, "*the effects of poor intergenerational educational mobility reinforce social stratification, and the relative unequal transmission of education from one generation to another serves as a proxy for a society's failure to provide opportunity to children from disadvantaged backgrounds. If at least the head of the household has achieved a secondary education level, the rates of participation and enrollment will be higher*

and, on average 10 times more likely to enroll, than a situation in which household has not even reached the secondary or the primary level of education. This pattern of inequity is observable across all countries in SSA with a more equity condition in those middle-income countries" (Word Bank Group, 2017).

2.2 Spatial and Rural Factors:

It is necessary to make further explanation of the circumstances by considering not only the educational background condition but also the spatial and regional factors that enhance the current distribution.

Students from rural and deprived schools district are more likely to have limited access to quality in the pre-tertiary education.

The Education Status Report for Malawi, for instance, showed that, despite a large rural majority, the proportion of tertiary students from rural areas accounted for only 24 percent of total tertiary enrollment in 2007 (World Bank, 2010).

Manuh, Gariba, and Budu (2007) conclude that in Ghana the most significant factor informing an individual's prospects for accessing university are the region and location of a student's residence.

Urban disparities keep alive the inequities in the enrollment in several ways; Large urban centers benefit more from the presence of large and established public institutions which could be translated in an easier access for families to a larger variety of options for pursuing education. The phenomena are equal valid for pre-tertiary as well as tertiary enrollment.

Compared to rural counterparts, students in urban secondary school advantage more from access to information regarding tertiary admission policies and have a more direct and effective contact with universities admission offices.

Therefore, the less favorable the circumstances from which the child come from the less likely he or she will start the enrollment at the official age of entry and once they started the years of schooling their socio-economic background will strongly continue to influence their prospective.

The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization's Institute for Statistics (UIS) has demonstrated that "*children from the poorest quintile of households are four times more likely to be out of school than are children from the wealthiest quintile of households (40 percent versus 10 percent).*

These and other examples of inequity in pre- tertiary cycles of education significantly affect the composition of tertiary enrollment and the level of inequity in higher education".

Wealthiest quintiles are also more likely to pay private education in pre-tertiary education and so they can afford the cost of preparing students for higher level of education.

Ghana is a fair enough example for good-performing basic educational systems, because it has implemented significant resources and policy attention to improving access to education, and it is evident in lower levels of disparity in pre-tertiary cycles of education.

Where one-third of students reached the level of proficiency in academic subjects (sciences, languages and

mathematics) which are considered sufficient to access upper-secondary education, only one-quarter of those students enroll in the upper-secondary education level on time and less than half succeed in the mathematics and sciences portions; of those who fortuitously graduate from upper-secondary, only one in five will continue to tertiary education (World Bank Group, 2017).

2.3 The Tertiary Supply and Demand:

Although SSA countries are in exponential growth in the enrollment rates of tertiary educations, most regions still demonstrated the lowest participation rate in the tertiary education in the world. Compared with the few 400,000 students in 1970, in 2013, the number raised until 7.2 million students enrolled in tertiary education. The growth in enrollment still appears to be insufficient to meet the rising demand for the tertiary level, exacerbated by factors as the economic growth, the "demographic dividend" and the structural shift in the economy away from primary sector and toward the manufacturing and services sector.

As a general economic law, when the profit *must* increase, one of the most common solution is the *"Diversification of the supply",* that entails a large range of students with different knowledges and ability but also a shift of the demand within the economy. Within tertiary education systems, *vertical diversification* occurs when distinct types of institutions appear in response to labor market demand, complementing traditional research universities in the form of polytechnics, professional institutes, non-research universities, and junior colleges. *Horizontal diversification* also takes place as new types of educational providers—for-profit, nonprofit, religious, international, and local government entities— which emerge to fulfill unmet demand (Ng'ethe, Subotzky, and Afeti 2008).

Even if the private tertiary sector has relative recent roots, as it emerges in the last 1980s, the sector has demonstrated incredible growth. There are five primary accountable factors for the expansion of the private tertiary education institutions in SSA:

Firstly, the Inability of the public sector to meet growing social demand for tertiary education; Secondly, the declining subsidies to the social sector; Thirdly, a more appropriate program and courses aligned with the needs of the labor market; Fourthly, the perception that the performance of the private sector are comparatively more efficient than those of the public sector; Fifthly, the privatization of the public universities in line with economic policies that shift away from state planning and toward market forces (Varghese, 2004).

As the labor market increasingly demands readily employable graduates ("finished products"), demand for education shifts away from traditional, more theoretical higher education programs and toward occupation-related programs of study that are perceived to produce a more vocationally trained labor force (Varghese, 2004).

The rise of non-university institutions for tertiary education, such as polytechnics and institutions catering to short-cycle programs of study, is a response to this shifting demand. *In general, there is a lack of policy clarity in SSA systems of tertiary education regarding appropriate boundaries between polytechnics and universities in terms of their mission, purpose, curricula, and programs* (Ng'ethe, Subotzky, and Afeti 2008).

The contemporary implementation of reforms, to improved macroeconomic stability and to address market failure and inefficiency, have underpinned the contemporary SSA growth, with a rapid increase in demand for natural resource-based commodities (World Bank 2009). But this dependence on commodities exports has exposed resource-rich economies to shocks associated with volatility in commodities prices. The recent slowdown in the Chinese economy, the tapering of global demand for commodities, and the exponential fall in the global price of oil have had a significant and negative effect on African economic performance in the short term (World Bank, 2015).

The improvement in the economic performance is positively associated with the expansion of tertiary education; From the supply side, it is the result of a government being in an improved position to finance subsidies for the sector-From the demand side, the demand for nontraditional tertiary education increases, such as a short-cycle university that focus on specific skills that are highly relevant in the labor market (Word Bank, 2017). The public sector, generally, is the largest employer of the secondary and tertiary graduates, but it does not provide the necessary incentives for skills, rather it lacks well-defined job descriptions and of evaluation criteria (contributing to the skills mismatch in the labor market), and very often the continuity of employment is related to tenure. Consequently, the public-sector employment does not grow quickly as it should and the private sector therefore is the primary driver for the increased demand for skills associated with tertiary education.

To remedy this situation, there must be greater willingness on the part of governments to pursue further economic diversification and the development of job- creating industries, and universities must more effectively fulfill their intended role of servicing the economy through research and knowledge development. Public investment to facilitate improved power generation, infrastructure development, and the implementation of macroeconomic policies to give the private sector access to finance can have long-lasting effects for improving the business environment.

"Institutions of higher learning can more effectively support the development of a competitive private sector, and supply firms with the skilled workers they demand, by revising curricula to better align programs with the needs of the economy and by increasing collaboration with the private sector" (Hino and Ranis 2014).

2.4 Opportunity Costs and Government Inefficiencies:

Tertiary education has relative direct costs- such as tuition, housing, books and food- and indirect costs, which are less obvious but equally heavy and imposed. Taken together they build significant barriers for poorer students in their choice to pursue tertiary education.

In settling the idea to pursue tertiary education, students, but more than students, families, must weigh the perceived costs of forgoing any income against the benefits of further education. Opportunity costs, is the stream of income that students forgo by attending university as opposed to working. A good indicator of the opportunity's value is the income of the high school graduates in full-time employment. The opportunity cost

of tertiary education typically weighs more heavily on poor households because the contribution of high-school graduates (in percentage terms, not absolute) to overall household income is higher than their peers from richer households.

In general, increases in educational attainment are associated with increased income—with progressively higher jumps in earnings evident for upper- secondary and postsecondary graduates (World Bank Group, 2017).

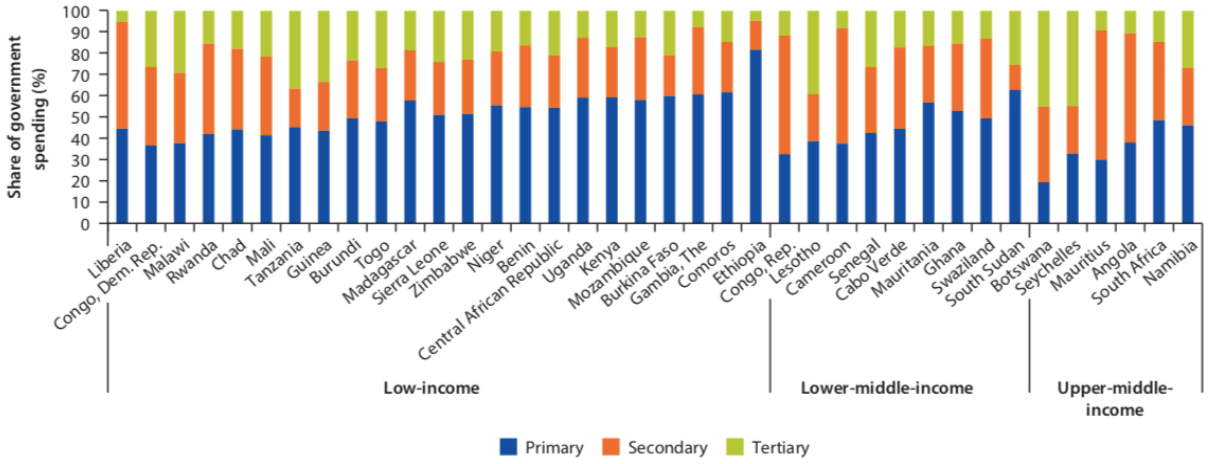
The Millennium Development Goal report (UNECA et al. 2014) confirm that most regions of the African Continent are very far to reach the goal of universal access to basic education. Twenty-five countries have now achieved net enrollment ratios of 80 percent, but primary completion rates remain relative low. Twenty-eight percent of countries for which data are available demonstrate a completion rate below 60 percent. Moreover, approximately 22 percent of children of primary school age remain out of school, and a third of primary school students drop out without acquiring a basic proficiency in reading and mathematics.

Despite significant progress toward the goal of achieving universal enrollment in primary education, much work remains to be done to ensure that all children in the region accrue the benefits of basic education. The amount of current public expenditures on tertiary education are insufficient to support the enlargement required to meet increased demand and given the degree of unmet necessities at lower levels of education and other sectors, such as health and social protection, there is very few fiscal space for improving funding in support of the tertiary sector (Word Bank Group, 2017).

These financial constraints are reinforced by the exaggerate high unit costs, per student expenditures, associated with delivering higher education, which, for SSA countries, are the highest in the world. In general, the average cost of educating one graduating student is equivalent to the cost of educating 14.5 primary school students in SSA, compared with 2.2 for the rest of the world.

"Inefficient management practices and systems divert scarce resources from funding interventions to achieve the objectives of improving access, delivering quality education, and increasing the relevance of tertiary education" (Salmi et al. 2002).

Fig.6 Different Government Spending on Education



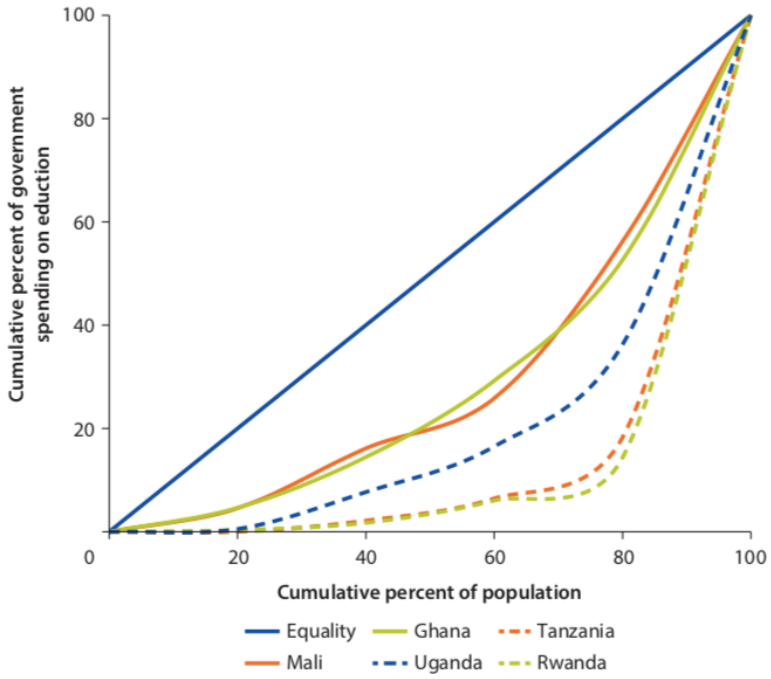
Source: World Bank EdStats.

To make matters worse, the public subsidization of tertiary education, in an imperfect market condition as that of SSA region, makes poorer families incapable to borrow to finance school attendance. In a system where tertiary education is completely funded through government funds and where the private tertiary sector is inexistent, the inequity is much more perpetuated; therefore, the children of the wealthy disproportionately benefit from the rationing of free higher education because of their access to better schools in pre-tertiary education, and increase access to academic role models (Johnstone, 2004).

Inequity in the distribution of public expenditures in support of tertiary education can be illustrated using the Lorenz curve. The Lorenz curve shows the distribution of resources allocated within a given population by income. If resources are distributed equally across all members of a population, the resulting Lorenz curve would be a straight line with a slope of 45 degrees. The Gini coefficients for primary education are close to 0; nevertheless, inequity increases with each level of education, and the highest level of inequality are evident for tertiary education.

The Lorenz curves illustrated in figure demonstrate the inequitable distribution of public expenditures on tertiary education in Ghana, Malawi, Mali, Rwanda, Tanzania, and Uganda.

Fig.7 Lorenz Curve for distribution of resources



2.5 *Evidence-Based Policy making* and The Theory of Change:

From this perspective, a remarkable change in policy action is necessary to create the condition for the reduction of hunger and poverty, but most important, to build a sustainable long-term economic growth, that find its roots in the enforcement of the educational system. Inefficient management practices and system divert scarce resources from funding intervention to achieve the objectives of improving, not only access, but also quality of education, both in primary, secondary and tertiary level.

United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization Institute for Statistics showed that *"the higher the proportion of total spending apportioned to salaries, the lower the share of resources available to support other interventions, such as funding financial aid for students from disadvantaged backgrounds"*. In many system, once the new hire is approved, payments of the salaries are under the government's responsibility and there are no incentives for institutions to initiate administrative reforms or to make the payroll more efficient.

Visibly, these programs have deflected the scarcity of resources away from the amplification of the local system of tertiary education and have traditionally benefited a small group of high-performing or well-connected students.

As development programs and policies are generally designed to change outcomes -improve learnings or raise incomes- the first step to make is a change in the evaluative approach of what a governmental policy should bring and how to achieve those outcomes without any waste.

To do this, *Evidence-based policy making* is fruitful, also due to the growing global trend that is focusing more on the outcomes and results, estimating *average impacts*, rather than on inputs. From the *Millennium Development Goals, "this global trend is reshaping how public policies should be carried out, not only focusing on results but enhancing the programs with those results, that increase the accountability, inform budget allocations and guide policy decisions"*.

At the global level, the impact evaluation is becoming crucial to build awareness about the effectiveness of development programs by the preventive clarification on what does not work to reduce poverty and improve welfare;

"*An impact evaluation assesses the changes in the well-being of individuals that can be attributed to a particular project, program, or policy. This focus on attribution is the hallmark of impact evaluations. Correspondingly, the central challenge in carrying out effective impact evaluations is to identify the causal relationship between the project, program, or policy and the outcomes of interest"* (Impact Evaluation in Practice, World Bank Group, 2016).

Impact evaluation is necessary to inform policy makers on a wide range of decisions, from truncating inefficient programs to adjust program benefits and alternatives and -in the case- it could bring important innovations that have not yet been tested.

The impact-evaluation approach follows several steps for its application: the steps include the establishment of the questions to be answered by the evaluation to build a *Theory of Change* that underlined how to achieve the intended goals of the developing result chain.

"These steps contribute to determining an evaluation question and are best taken at the outset of the program, engaging a range of stakeholders from policy makers to program managers, to forge a common vision of the program's goals and how they will be achieved".

All the evaluations are formulated by study question that focus on the policy of interest of the program, as "*a clear evaluation question is the starting point of any effective evaluation"*.

To do this, the best approach is the already quoted *Theory of Change*, a description of how an intervention should be delivered to obtain the desired results. The best moment to cultivate a *Theory of Change* is when the design process is at its point of departure, when the stakeholder can bring together to build up a common vision for the program, its achievements, and the path to follow to reach the goals. *"It describes the causal logic of how and why a particular project, program, or policy will reach its intended outcomes. A theory of*

change is a key underpinning of any impact evaluation, given the cause-and-effect focus of the research, Theories of change depict a sequence of events leading to outcomes; they explore the conditions and assumptions needed for the change to take place, make explicit the causal logic behind the program, and map the program interventions along logical causal pathways" (Impact Evaluation in Practice, World Bank Group, 2016).

2.6 Cash Transfer Program in Sub-Saharan Africa:

The theory of change has been widely used in recent decades, starting in 2008, by International Institutions, such as Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), United Nation Children's Fund (UNICEF), Save the Children and national governments in partnership with the University of North Carolina, to implement programs and research, very often following the logistics of Cash Transfer Program that aim to reduce the impacts of difficulties on disadvantaged people in developing countries. The Transfer projects are based on providing evidences of the effectiveness of the social project in reaching impacts on children, on informing the development of policies and programs, and on the promotion of cross-country learning of the different effects of cash transfer. The initial consultation and direct communication with national governments reinforced the importance of the initiative, not only as an experimental project, but as a learning process, focused on the findings that come after the implementation.

An increasing number of research for the applicability of Cash Transfer program has been done in Sub-Saharan Africa, recognized as pivotal for the fight against poverty and hunger. They emphasize stronger community participation and focus on socially and economically marginalized agents, including children, families and communities.

The success of this programs has enlarged the areas of application, such as school enrolment, food security, health and agricultural investments, generating multiplier effects on local economies and

with the objective to protect individuals or households from the impacts of shocks and support the accumulation of human, financial, and productive assets (UNICEF, 2012).

Given this, the *Cash Transfer Programs* can follow two different path of application, the first and most common one where *Conditionality* is necessary for the successful implementation of the program and the *Unconditional Transfer Project,* most applied in Africa, where no specific behavior is requested, focusing of the potential effects of cash transfers programs on schooling and child labor.

The difference lay that conditional provide money to eligible households under certain conditions, monitoring their good behavior and providing incentives to do it.

By adding conditions, CTs aim to incentivize investment in mid- to long-term human capital accumulation, which can be under-served by poor people making short-term coping decisions. Conditions also aim to

increase intra-household bargaining power of weaker individuals, and increase human capital across society (Theories of change for cash transfers, Evie Browne, 2013).

Unconditional programs, instead, provide money to families without imposing conditions and give them flexibility in how to spend the money given, opening the possibility of a wider range of impacts across non-traditional domains (unconditional is commonly applied in Africa, very often governs cannot impose the full attendance of schools).

There are some pros in imposing the conditionality:

1. Incentives are useful to speed up the economy, but are also costly and conditioning transfers can modify behavior to better match those perceptions.
2. Impose a conditionality may rebalance the different power of men and women in the household
3. Conditionality is most useful from a political point of view: policy maker evaluates the performance of changes in school enrollment or use of health clinics.
4. Private prospective: disagreement of household in the allocation of resources, but this imposition of conditions can create a bargaining position of individuals whose preferences are aligned with governs preferences.

And some consequences:

1. Conditional Cash Transfer Program have high costs of administration
2. Meeting conditions imposes direct costs on beneficiaries, and such cost are not necessarily shared equally in the households.
3. Some household may find the conditions too difficult to meet, and if such are among the poorest household eligible for the program, imposing conditions may detract from the effectiveness of targeting.
4. Corruption whereby individuals are responsible to certifying condition to be met.
5. Can be perceived to demeaning the poor, as a sort of humiliation.
6. Finally, because social protection falls under the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, some argue that it is indefensible to attach conditions to the receipt of social transfers.

The main characteristic of all those TPs in Africa is that of unconditionally status. This runs in contrast with many of those CTP promoted in Latin America, for example, where the imposition of condition usually is placed to maintain the status in the program.

The decision to apply or not conditions, or soft conditions, as in Africa is usually done, is derived from the consideration what target of social group the program is referring to.

Poor rural households in Africa—most of whom rely on subsistence agriculture for their livelihoods and food

security needs—face a series of market failures in credit and insurance that trap them into risk-averse production decisions. Moreover, agricultural households will often sell more than the optimal amount of labor off farm to obtain cash. Small, predictable injections of 'unconditional' cash can ease liquidity constraints and help overcome the lack of access to insurance, allowing households to make productive investments or diversify income sources and thus serving an important potential pathway out of poverty (FAO,2016). Thus, recipients in conditional program have some decisional power on how to spend their money, but there are clear incentives to spend them on health and educational behavior.

A second key characteristic is the incorporation of the concept of vulnerability, along with poverty, into the targeting criteria of several countries. The emphasis on ultra-poor, labor-constrained households has led to a demographic profile very different from CCT in Latin America.

"The Transfer Project then seeks to create a regional social protection learning agenda by using comparable, rigorous approaches to evaluating the impact of a set of cash transfer programs in SSA that, while unique, have similar characteristics. Through this approach, the Transfer Project hopes to generate externalities and foment cross-country learning across SSA"

(Cash Transfer and Impact Evaluation, FAO, 2016).

The importance of social protection, as the main engine to the development of a more cohesive, skilled and productive society, has been recognized by national governments and expanded, with an effective strategic action to strengthen families' capacity to handle with risks and stress, across several Sub-Saharan African Countries, which, had decide to implement Cash Transfer Program. "*The Impact Evaluation approaches were embedded in national policy processes, involving international experts and researchers, government counterparts, and national research institutions to ensure policy-relevant evaluation design and promote the use of results to inform policy and programs development. In this way, close interaction between different stakeholders promoted the development of strong trust relationships and, most importantly, national ownership of the process and end-results"* (Cash Transfer and Impact Evaluation, FAO, 2016). Before exposing the different TPs in Malawi, Lesotho, Zambia, Zimbabwe and South Africa, it is necessary to outline the different modality of data collection, group target selection and application of Cash Programs.

2.6.1 Research Methodology:

The range of research and policy questions was so intensively widespread that a mixed method approach was necessary to give an answer. The foundation of the approach lays on three components; Firstly, the quantitative (statistical) impact evaluation based on experimental and non-experimental design is exploited to give, with statistical certainty, the impacts of cash transfers on recipients. These impacts depend on the country, and on the different challenges of real-life evaluation and government programs.

Firstly, the data collection took place through questionnaires administrated to treatment and control households, based on theories of change.
Secondly, qualitative methods were integrated in the evaluations and sought to give a greater knowledge of the causes and process around the program's impacts, contextual factors that mediate outcomes and people's perceptions and experiences.
Thirdly, "*while poor households are the focus of cash transfer programs, they are also a conduit through which cash enters local economies. As beneficiaries spend their transfers, local demand increases. If local production expands to meet this demand, cash transfer programs can create income multipliers; each dollar transferred can increase local income by more than one dollar. For this reason, general equilibrium modelling was employed to look beyond the direct impact of transfers and to follow the cash distributed by the programs as it flows through the local economy" (FAO, 2016).*
So, no unique method approach was applied, but instead the application was determined and respondent to needs, to the program context and to the budget consideration in each country.

2.7 Malawi Social Cash Transfer Programme:
The Malawi Social Cash Transfer Programme (SCTP) was implemented by the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and the Centre for Social Research of the University of Malawi (CSR UNIMA), with technical support of UNICEF Office of research and UN FAO.

It is an unconditional cash transfer targeted to ultra-poor, labor-constrained households. The program, since 2006, expanded to reach 18 out of 28 district in Malawi with a growth starting over the follow two years. The district scheduled for scale-up 2013 were Salima and Mangochi.
The SCTP is administered by the Ministry of Gender, Children, Disability and Social Welfare (MoGCDSW) with additional policy oversight provided by the Ministry of Finance, Economic Planning and Development (MoFEPD).

Eligibility was based on household being in the ultra-poor condition, so unable to meet the most basic needs, including food and non-food items, such as cloths and soap and labor-constrained, Household members are defined as 'unfit' if they are below 19 or above 64 years of age, or if they are age 19 to 64 but have a chronic illness or disability, or are otherwise unable to work.
Both *Treatment Group* and *Control Group* were asked about their awareness of the SCTP and who they thought was eligible to receive the transfer. Nearly all were aware and felt that the program eligibility criteria were clear. Household were also asked about how they would use the transfer.

The majority of respondents was the main decision maker for how the transfer payment is used (86 per cent), and most make these decisions alone (55 per cent), but transfer funds were reported to benefit all household

members in about nine out of 10 households. Most households used transfer funds to purchase food (94 per cent); other common uses included purchasing clothing and shoes (45 per cent), paying formal government education fees (43 per cent), and paying for rent or shelter (38 per cent). Just over one-fourth of households used transfer funds to purchase livestock and other agricultural inputs. The use of funds for clothing, shoes, and schooling align with the high percentage of households who believed purchasing school supplies and clothing for children was a requirement for continuation in the program. Male-headed households were less likely to use the funds for government education or clothing (32 per cent and 37 per cent, respectively), but were more likely to use the funds to purchase livestock (29 per cent).

The Objectives of the Programme are to recede poverty and hunger, to increase school enrollment rates and to enhance the food security on the base of four research areas for evaluation:

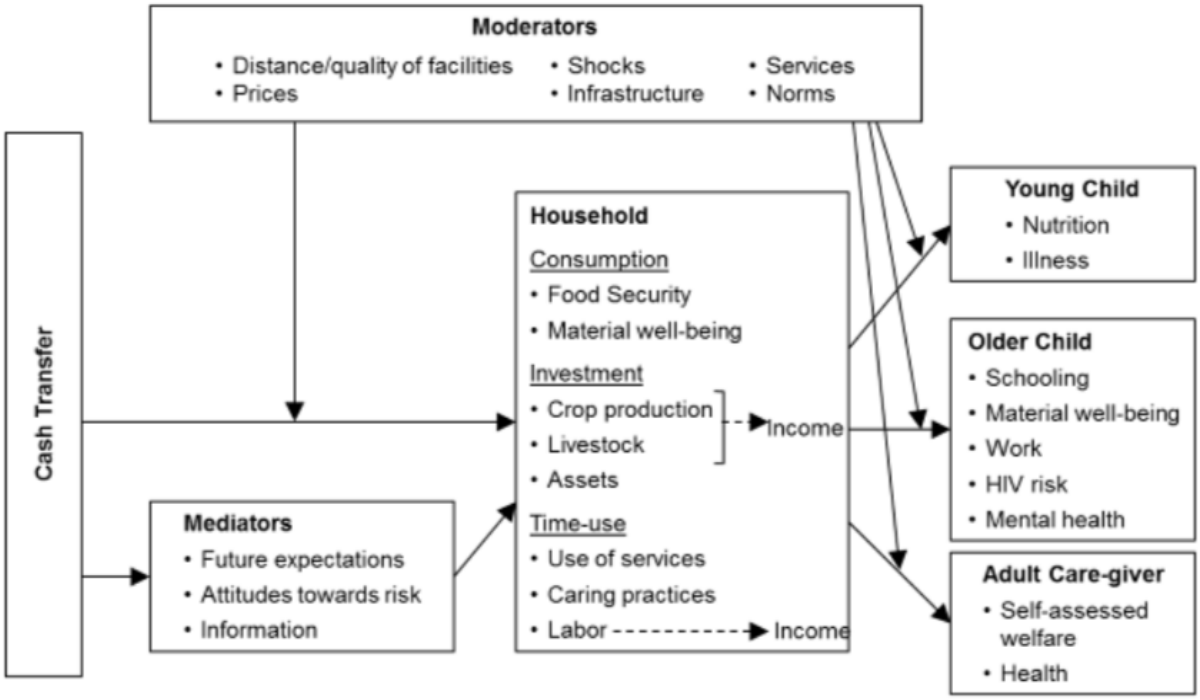
1. *Welfare impacts on children and caretakers*,
2. *Behavior change within the household,*
3. *Access to and linkage with other social services,*
4. *Impact on the Familial environment for children*.

The study began with a Planning Meeting and an Inception Workshop (September 2012 and February 2013, respectively) where several key stakeholders met to organize the planning and execution of the Impact Evaluation (IE). Baseline surveys were regulated from July-September 2013, and the qualitative examinations in November 2013 (While midline was originally planned for 12 months after baseline, the first payments were not administered until March and April 2014. After discussion between the evaluation team, GoM, and UNICEF, the decision was taken to conduct the midline follow-up in November 2015, at 17 months, in order to be an adequate number of payments and time for early impacts to be observed).
Household, youth and community surveys were administered from November 2014 – January 2015. Midline qualitative interviews were done in February and March 2015.
Endline data collection was conducted in October – November 2015, with qualitative data collection following in March 2016 (Malawi SCTP Baseline Evaluation Report).

The below Diagram Framework bring together all those factor that may affect the daily household activities, the pathways involved and the mediating power of the unconditional factors.
The diagram is read from left to right, *from inputs to impacts*. What is expected to result is a direct effect of the cash transfer on consumption (food security, diet diversity) and on the usage of services and possibilities of productive activity after some time.

Sociological and economic theories of human behavior suggest that the impact of the cash may work through several mechanisms (mediators), such as the degree to which the household is forward- looking and the expectations the household has about the quality of life in the future (which could determine investment and other choices with longer-term implications). Similarly, the impact of the cash transfer may be smaller or larger, depending on local conditions in the community. These moderators include access to markets and other services, prices and shocks. Moderating effects are shown with lines that intersect the direct causal pathways between the cash transfer and outcomes to indicate that they can influence the strength of the direct effect

*(*Malawi SCTP Baseline Evaluation Report).



A baseline requirement for a cash program such as SCTP to generate impacts is for the value of the transfer to be sufficiently large enough as a share of the target population's consumption.
Based on experience from around the world, including several major African cash transfer programs, a 'rule of thumb' is that the transfer should deliver at least 20 per cent of pre- program consumption to generate widespread impacts.

2.7.1 Structure and Level of Transfers:

The coverage of study beneficiaries receiving payments across two years is high with an average coverage rate of 96% over the life of the evaluation. All eligible households to receive 12 payments between March 2014 and December 2015, were enrolled in the program of *Treatment Group* villagers and the program delivered a total of 28,297 successful payments- 17,021 in Mangochi and 11,276 in Salima.

The amount of transfer varies based o household size and number of children enrolled in primary and secondary school. In May 2015, the nominal values of the transfer of all household were increased. Due to the delay start in payments after the study period, the evaluation timeline ran through the end of November 2015 but despite this fact, the collectors were interested in the possible effects influencing the results due to possible changes in household's behavior as expecting transfer payments. Indeed, they include a set of questions to collect information about enrollment, expected timing of payments, and whether they made or delayed any purchase, payment or decision because they waited to receive the transfer in the near future.
What come out is that the large majority of households did not modify their purchasing behavior, only a very small percentage (3%) made a consumption decision sooner than the planned, instead the majority of household (two thirds of them) prorogued a purchase related to agricultural inputs or livestock, repairing the house or paying for education.

It is of significant importance to say that these decision-making attitudes were also taken to avoid incurring additional debt and the household claiming to delay rather than anticipate form of purchases would lead to overestimate the impacts in domains such as- educational spending, agricultural inputs and livestock.

The SCTP has achieved its primary objective of ensuring food security and consumption among the ultra-poor labor constrained households, with larger impacts amongst the very poorest. The program has generated an average increase of MWK10,380 per person per year, which represents an increase of 23 per cent over baseline; this increase is 53 per cent amongst the poorest households. Consistent with this, there is a sharp improvement in food security, with an increase by 15 per cent in the number of meals per day, and Diet diversity has also improved, with significant increases in the budget share devoted to meats, fish and poultry products. Finally, the program has also generated strong positive impacts on the material wellbeing of children. The proportion of children in program households with a pair of shoes, access to a blanket and a change of clothes has risen from just 12 per cent to 50 per cent

(Malawi Social Cash Transfer Programme, November 15, 2016).

2.7.2 Impacts on Education:

According to the School Enrolment, the school attendance could be graphed as a U-shaped relationship with age and peaks around the age of 12. The estimations indicate strong effects on school participation at midline and end line. At midline, children in the treatment group were about 11 percentage points more likely attend school than children in the control group and about 13 percentage points more likely to attend school without interruptions.
At end line, these impacts were 9 and 13 percentage points respectively. Effects on school attendance and regular school attendance appear marginally stronger for boys than girls. At both midline and end line, for

instance, program impact on regular school attendance was 15 percentage points for boys and 11 percentage points for girls.

For secondary school, aged children (14 to 17) the effects appear to be stronger in magnitude, with an increase in school attendance of 16% point at midline and 13 % points at end line.

For the primary school, aged children (6 to 13), school attendance has increased by 13% points at midline and 8% points at end line.

As the SCT suggests, the increasing in school attendance does not necessarily translated into increased grade progression. Children induced to go to school do not perform well in class and hence are not allowed to progress to a higher grade at the end of the school year.

Strong effects of the program on children's school participation across all age ranges and a concomitant increase in per-child education expenditure are registered. These effects do not merely reflect increased enrolment, but increased *regular* participation in school (i.e. participation without extended withdrawal during the school year). Strong effects on grade progression are not observed, but these effects may materialize in the longer run.

2.8 Zambia's Multiple Category Cash Transfer Program:

The Zambia's Ministry of Community Development, Women and Child Health (MCDMCH) began, in 2011, implementing MCP in two districts: Luwingu (in the Northem Province) and Serenje (in the Central Province). They appear as the districts with the highest rate of extreme poverty. Zambia started the first cash transfer in 2004, trying different targeting models in each district.

The most recent categorical programs called the Child Grant in 2010 and Multiple Category in 2011, apply an eligibility criteria that meets conditions such as- female-headed household keeping orphans, disabled members, elderly-headed household (over 60 years old).

Recipients receive 55,000 Kwacha a month, which is the equivalent of U.S. $11, an amount that could permit to purchase one meal a day for everyone for one month and that is equal among all regardless of household size.

The study design is shaped by estimations on the effects of the program, indeed the Monterey Country Department of Social Services (MCDSS) implemented a policy of randomly assigning communities to delayed control group treatment, better known as Randomized, Controlled Trials (RCTs) retaining it as the most efficacious to draw conclusions about impacts on specific outcomes. The recipients are randomly assigned into a process of transparency and understanding about how the communities are selected. An RCT allow to directly associate any noticed difference between the Treatment and Control groups to the intervention, *otherwise, other unobserved factors, such as motivation, could influence the likelihood of subjects being in the treatment or control group. (Campbell & Stanley, 1963).*

Randomization is used to balance the observed and unobserved characteristics that affect the outcomes between the treatment and control conditions of the sample. In a randomized experiment, treatment and control groups are expected to be comparable (with possible chance variation between groups) so that the average differences in outcome between the two groups at the end of the study can be attributed to the intervention (AIR, Zambia's MCP, 2012).

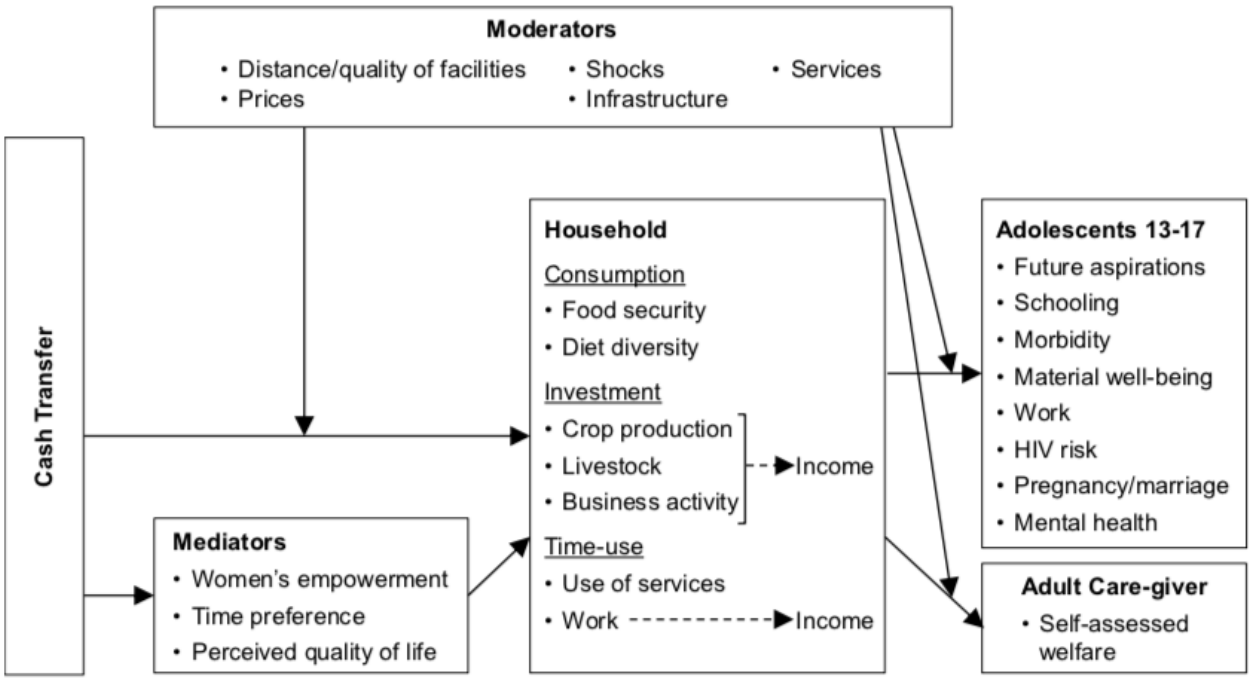
Zambia has three seasons: a rainy season from December through March, a cold dry season from April through August and a hot dry season from September through November. The Baseline data collection took place in the *lean season* (September through February), when the level of food has increased thanks to rainy season but the population still suffer the hunger of the drought of the hot season. *The MCP aims to support poor households during this period of hunger by providing enough money to purchase a meal a day, on the believing that the biggest impacts of the program are likely to be observed during this lean season; thus, the study is designed with baseline and follow-up periods of data collection during this season (AIR, Zambia's MCP, 2012).*

The four survey instruments- *a household questionnaire, adolescent questionnaire, community questionnaire and health facility questionnaire-* were guided by three main assessments:

- *The instrument must contain the key list of all indicators presented in the project's long frame, which includes monetary poverty, food security, school enrollment and absenteeism, morbidity and the welfare of orphans and vulnerable children (OVC).*
- *The indicators are measured using the questions and approaches that have already been field tested and approved by Government and Cooperating Partners in Zambia, so appropriate for local conditions and comparable to national data.*
- *The survey instrument must be manageable length to avoid respondent fatigue.*

(AIR, Zambia's MCP, 2012).

Because the program provides cash, and because savings rates among this very poor population are likely to be very low, the initial and direct impact of the program will be to influence spending and household expenditures. Expenditure, therefore, is a key *mediator* for subsequent development impacts on OVC.
Households are expected to spend the cash transfer, focusing firstly on basic needs, such as food, cloth and shelter. Once these necessities are met, the influx of new cash may trigger further responses within household economy, by proving investment and other productive activities and the ability to free up older children to attend school.



The diagram resumed the conceptual framework showing how the MCP affects household activities, the pathways involved and the potential *moderating and mediating* factors.

The diagram is readable from left to right and direct effect on food consumption are expected as imminent, followed by use of services and productive activities.

Sociological and economic theories of human behavior suggest that: "the impact of the cash may work through several mechanisms (mediators), including *a bargaining power within the household, the degree to which the household is forward looking*, and *the expectations the household has about the quality of life in the future (which could determine investment and other choices with longer term implications). Similarly, the impact of the cash transfer may be smaller or larger depending on local conditions in the community. These moderators include access to markets and other services, prices, and shocks. Moderating effects are shown with lines that intersect the direct causal pathways between the cash transfer and outcomes to indicate that they can influence the strength of the direct effect" (AIR, Zambia's MCP, 2012).*

A *Mediator* is a factor that can be influenced by the program and so lies directly within the casual chain. A *Moderator*, in contrast, is not influenced by the program. Service availability is a moderator, whereas women's bargaining power may be either a moderator or a mediator depending on whether it is self-changed by the program.

Also, the effects on adolescents and students are crucial and are moderated by environmental factors-such as the distance from school, health facilities or household level characteristics, such as mother literacy.

The transfer size was equal to provide Kw 60,000 per month, translated into Kw 12,000 per capita per month because the median family size is five. Thus, the 12,000 kwacha transfer is a 23% points increased to the household's monthly expenditure and this is a meaningful increase to recipients considering that 91 percent of households fall below the national extreme poverty line, compared with 66 percent of all rural households in the Zambia Living Conditions and Monitoring Survey (LCMS). However, the transfer size is 4 percentage points lower than Zambia's Child Grant program, where the transfer size is 27 percent of mean consumption *(AIR, Zambia's MCP, 2012)*.

This is likely to have positive and statistically significant impacts individual actors, as large predicted impacts on food and diet diversity. Predicted impacts on child-level indicators are smaller than households, but it is similarly expected to have large school effects on enrollment of children age 6-8 and a reduction of the children without a pair of shoes or change of clothes.

2.9 Zimbabwe's Harmonized Social Cash Transfer Programme:

The program is constructed over a period of 12 months, in 2013 the Zimbabwe's Ministry of Public Services, Labour and Social Welfare began implementing the program in 10 new districts and it is positioned as the primary social protection for Zimbabwe's vulnerable citizens.

UNICEF Zimbabwe contracted the American Institute for Research (AIR) and the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill to conduct the evaluation.

The targets of the program are labor-constrained household that are also food poor. Eligible household receive unconditional cash payments every month based on household size.

HSCT is jointly funded by the Zimbabwe government and donors, and UNICEF provides additional financial and technical support in addition to managing the Child Protection Fund (CPF).

The design of the program is a non-experimental trail as the stated policy of the Ministry aimed to a simultaneous application of the transfers, eligibility is not the driven and there are no elements of self-selection in the recruitment process.

Evaluation Impacts Program accompanied the Project in order to confirm the validity of the policies implementation from the perspective of beneficiaries, local stakeholders and implementing partners.

Survey data indicate that the clear majority of beneficiaries receive the correct amount of money, on time, and regularly, and do not face significant challenges with the payment process. Further, beneficiaries consider the program eligibility criteria to be fair.

The predominantly program does not have a significant impact on poverty indicators but it aims to reduce the level of food insecurity and poverty. Among poor households, a sudden increase in permanent income lead to direct increase in consumption, which makes up a large share of consumption of the poorest. The indicators used to report the impacts is the *Household Food Insecurity Access Scale* (HFIAS), developed by Food and Nutritional Technical Assistance (FANTA) project. *The HFIAS is a 9- item scale, where households are asked*

to rate their experience from a scale of 'Rarely' to 'Often'. The reference period is past four weeks and the scale generates a score ranging from 0 to 27. The higher the score, the more food insecure the household is (HSCT, 2014).

The story is different with larger households, where the results raised hypothesis about the way they perceive the cash transfer. This is because smaller families have more than four members, and the transfer level is smaller for larger families or might not be enough to generate an evident impact on consumption.

Being the poverty count based on consumption, the food poverty headcount rate is reduced by 10% points in household with four or fewer members.

Poverty and food poverty rates are very high in the HSCT beneficiary population. At both baseline and follow-up, 96 percent of beneficiaries live in households below the poverty line set by Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency and 82 percent live below the food poverty line.

The HSCT program include in the list of overall objectives of the improving of human development, the educational dimension. Dimension impacted by youth money for school fees, uniforms, and supplies, reducing the need for child labor time at home and freeing up time for school activities. Also in this case, household size, gender and distance to school may act as *Moderators* of the program's impact.

Overall, the HSCT has led to an increase in school enrolment among boys in primary school, and on grade progression at the primary level for children in small households even though enrolment rates were already quite high at the primary level. The analysis confirms that the application of the program is not harmonized at the local level and beneficiaries are not brought into the BEAM program at the same rate of the comparison household.

*BEAM is one component of the Government of Zimbabwe's Programme of Support (CPF Strategic Concept & Design, 23) which aims at increasing access to schooling for the poor children by paying school fees. The intent is for HSCT to complement BEAM, among other assistance programmes such as child protection services. That is, HSCT and BEAM are part of a comprehensive package that aims to assist vulnerable children (*Zimbabwe Country Case Study Report, March 2013)

Also, no positive consistent impact on school enrolment, with very small effects of the program on primary rather than secondary levels.

The whole results of this report are consistent with the context described above. Impacts on consumption are mostly found for small households, and in fact, across most domains studied here, there are often positive impacts among smaller households and no impacts on the full sample or among larger households. This pattern is true for example for food poverty rates, diet diversity, subjective welfare, school attendance, asset ownership and exposure to shocks.

The impacts on consumption are relatively small compared to other cash transfer programmes, likely because the programme is too young to have generated a perceived change in permanent income and the timing of data collection in the harvest season means beneficiaries are more likely to spend the transfer on non-food items.

2.10 Child Grant Programme in the Consolidation of the Social Protection in Lesotho:

The Region of Lesotho is affected by a triple threat of poverty, where epidemic, such as HIV, chronic food and nutrition insecurity and lack of development and protection, rend the population very vulnerable. *The Poverty rate touches the 57% of the population, where people cannot access to necessities and the income distribution is still very high unequal* (Government of Lesotho, 2013).

The population that suffers from food insecurity in rural areas is around 10-30% which doubled while moving to urban areas (Ministry of Health and Social Welfare, 2009).

The government of Lesotho, in response to this enormous burden that affect the production, growth and the well-being of citizens, has indicated in the *National Strategic Development Plan 2012-17,* with the assurance to promote social protection.

One of the most important intervention is the *Child Grants Programme, in 2009, which has been not only an important element of the recent progress towards a systemic and inclusive social protection system but has also revealed a process of change in a relative short time period, solidly embedded into a national policy, with the support from UNICEF and the European Union*.

A Ministry of Social Development (MOSD) has been established in 2012 and this assure the effectiveness of the Programme and strengthened the government ownership and leadership in the sector. As well as the other implemented programs, the progressive expansion and the applicability were convoyed with a comprehensive evaluation form the early stages of the implementation.

The genesis of the CGP is a four-year project founded by the European Commission in response to the HIV/AIDS pandemic and the increasing number of Orphan and Vulnerable Children, therefore.

It is an unconditional social cash transfer providing every quarter a regular transfer of between M360 and M750: (1) Households with 1-2 children M360 (US$ 36) quarterly; (2) Households with 3-4 children M600 (US$ 60) quarterly; and, (3) Households with 5 and more children M750 (US$ 75) quarterly, distributed into five different districts: Qacha's Nek, Maseru, Leribe, Berea and Mafeteng.

The EU commission, in March 2007, with UNICEF signed an agreement to implement a response. The focus of the project was to build capacity in caregiver groups, to enable them to support OVC, including psycho-social support, HIV/AIDS prevention, and access to small grants for material support (Kardan et al., 2011).

The first payment arrived in 2009, in a single community council and by January 2010 expanded to six community's councils, reaching 1,250 households caring for over 2,700 OVC.

Obviously, the first two years were most spent on preparatory activities and on the development of an implementation plan. The Oxford Policy Management (OPM) was called by UNICEF to undertake the

evaluation of the program, in order to establish the impacts, effectiveness, efficiency and sustainability of the program.

This implementation plan contributed the engagement of the government to mobilize for a more systemic approach for harmonization and integration of social protection and to benefit from the commitment of new partners, such as World Bank. *The World Bank review particularly has influenced the CGP design by shaping the overall policy debate in three main directions: (1) integration of safety nets; (2) capacity development with creation of the social assistance unit; and (3) committing government to formulate a new strategy.*

Although the absence of a baseline, the limited sample size imposed by budget restrictions and the absence of a control group for impact evaluation, the CGP and WFP has convincing positive effect on recipient's wellbeing. Using food mainly for consumption, the portion quantities significant increases, especially after the receiving of the support, (The LEWIE model for the CGP suggested that if households spend the transfer as they spend other cash, the transfers would lead to relatively large income multipliers). Recipients preferred cash to food, because it allowed them to meet their prioritized needs. *The overwhelming majority of households spent the cash paying attention to the requirements of children, especially shoes, uniforms, and toiletries, resulting in children feeling more confident at, and enthusiastic about, school.*

Another of the transfer lays in the interest of children, contributing to increase the expenditures on schooling, uniforms, clothing and shoes but also it aimed to impact on school enrollment, especially in primary school (13-17).

Even though the structure of the transfer is clearly unconditional, the respondents receive a very clear messaging that money should be spent on children, also giving instructors on how to spend money for their children.

The CGP was not associated with a significant reduction in poverty rates amongst beneficiary households two years after the introduction of the pilot in the study areas, however beneficiaries' welfare has improved and trends are encouraging. Real household consumption expenditure increased significantly for all households, with larger, significant and positive improvements in per-capita and per-adult-equivalent terms amongst CGP beneficiaries (OPM, April 2014).

There are evidences of the positive effects on children's enrolment in schools, where it seems to contribute to retaining children 13-17 in primary schools, particularly boys who would otherwise dropped out to start working but no other evident progress on other dimension of education-early enrollment, repetition, completion of primary and enroll in secondary.

As *early Childhood Development* states, the enrolment of children in pre-schools positively affects their cognitive development that is likely to increase as processing through school years. The larger effects of CGP are in the proportion of children who have already enrolled in school. For girls (6-19) enrolment rates increased

significantly for the treatment group but no impact of the CGP was detected. Older girls (13-17) already at baseline had higher enrolment levels than boys, across treatment and control groups (CGP Evaluation Baseline, 2011).

2.11 South Africa's Child Support Grant:

South Africa is one of the unequal countries in the worlds, with spread inequality of access, of opportunity, health, income distribution and basic infrastructure. In 2011, the Gini coefficient for aggregate household expenditures and income (include salaries, wages and social grants) per capita, stood at 0.65 and 0.69 respectively (DPME, 2012*). Children grow up in a highly unequal society which entrenches poverty traps and social exclusion. Inequality interacts with poverty to exacerbate vulnerability and reinforce the vicious cycle of inter-generational transmission of deprivation* (Barry et al. 2013).

The CSG program has developed into a very effective social protection system in the developing world, due to substantial increases in expenditure's coverage and to reforms to other eligibility requirements.

The legislative framework for the broader CSG is enshrined in the South African Constitution, under Section 27(1)(c) of the Bill of Rights, which states that every South African citizen has a right 'to have access to social security, including, if they are unable to support themselves and their dependents, appropriate social assistance' (South Africa 1996).

Section 27(2) of the Constitution compels the State to ensure the progressive realization of a social security grant; whilst Section 28(1)(c) solidifies the State's commitment to provide special protection to vulnerable children, by specifically outlining a child's rights to social services (Rosa and Meintjes 2004; Dutschke 2006).

The Program provides monthly payments to child through "*Primary caregiver",* defined as the most related person to the children, who takes directly responsibility (UNICEF,2012).

Eligibility was firstly determined by a means test, that children are eligible if their caregiver's income falls below a set threshold; As of October 2014, the CSG threshold is R3200 per month for single caregivers, andR6400 per month (joint income) for caregivers with a partner (Samson et al. 2001). In 2003, Thabo Mbeki, the President of the republic of South Africa, extending the CSG until seventeen-years-old, including, only in 2010 the development condition of school attendance.

The locations were chosen through random sample, across five selected provinces: Eastern Cape, Gauteng, KwaZulu-Natal, Limpopo, and Western Cape. Children were randomly selected from the already know points and allocated in one of two groups-ten-year olds who enrolled in the CSG program shortly after birth or those who enrolled at age four or more.

At the origin, the program was intended to be largely a quantitative study with just qualitative assessment at the final stages, however, the benefits of including qualitative data in the evaluation process brought to integrate them in the evaluation. The qualitative research, indeed, found an important direct connection and

relationship between the CSG and the Health Care Services, that not only facilitates the access to CSG but the CSG allow to access to healthcare, as included in the list of basic needs.

The Program is also useful in allowing families to invest in schooling and learning, otherwise, the school economic costs, which include money for school fees, uniforms, shoes and transportation, would impede the enrollment or cause the drop out from school. Additionally, there appears to be a particularly important impact in terms of reduced work outside of the home for females who received the grant in early childhood. This is an important finding given the substantial literature on the negative correlation between children's work and schooling outcomes.

The impact evaluation has deeply influenced the policy development process, over social security as well as poor and vulnerable children, though the governmental support for monitoring and evaluating the impacts. The study demonstrated also that the influence and the access to education, do have impact on sexual security, alcohol abuses and drug use, with a high return to vital social investments. The CSG program remain the most effective instrument for breaking the slavery of intergenerational transmission of poverty and for promoting child development, strengthening the country's human resources, recognized as the base of the wealth of a country.

All the subsidies policies and cash transfer programs, whether conditional or unconditional, whether organized and carried out through money transfer or food transfer, could be summarized as all part of the evaluation program established by the *Theory of Change*, which promote broader developing impacts along direct intervention to protect children and families from poverty and famine. The universal evidences of the effectiveness of cash transfer programs is the basis of the shared application of the *Theory of Change,* recognized as main resource to reduce poverty and achieve development goals.

Cash Grants, reducing poverty, work to reduce inequalities among civilians, improving living standards and therefore, consumption levels. The Cash Grants do not work only for the reduction of poverty but with all those factors that are directly related to the poverty level, in doing so, it provides a *safety net*, that allows people to survive and deal with unsureness of income, providing a minimum income level that keeps households consuming and participative to little economic activities-such as investments in physical, social, but most of all, human capital.

While increasing the resources that provide minimum living standards it also keeps households from consuming, participating in economic activities and investing in physical, social, and human capital (i.e. education, health, nutrition) to ensure future income streams.

Cash grants, in addition, enable poor household to make different time use and investment decisions, participate in productive economic activity and enhance the current and future productivity of the household and household members.

This injection of resources boost the consumption expenditures of goods and services and contribute to the improvement of the general conditions and wellbeing of household members and children.

The income resource represents an adjustment of livelihood experiences as well as work experiences, both for adult and children, including time allocation and participation in the labor market.

Chapter 3

In most all countries, basic education is perceived not only as a right but also as a duty, governments are expected to provide a sure access to education while citizen are required, by law, to attain education up to a certain basic level.

M.Roser & E.Ortiz-Ospina

3.1 Long-standing pathway of Literacy:

Historically looking, the world went through a great expansion in education over the past two centuries, when the ambition of universal literacy in Europe became a fundamental reform born from the Enlightment, that recognized Literacy as a right, evolved, through centuries and through industrial and capitalist revolution, into the engine of individual income and constructor of social capital and long term economic growth.

The estimations on world literacy growth rate, indicates that after the middle of the 20th century, the expansion of education has growth constantly and became a global priority as well as reality. Despite the large progress in the long run, some developing countries still suffer from low income level, impacting directly over household and their children performances in school and consequently in the productive chain.

Globally, 4 out 10 children fail to meet minimum learning standards; while more and more children attend school worldwide, many of them drop out or fall to meet minimum standards.
Of the world's 650 million children of primary school age, 120 million do not reach primary education, another 130 million reach primary but fail to achieve the minimum level.

This creates a deeper and deeper gap between developed countries that can provide essential necessities, that contribute to the enforcement of the human capital, as investing in education and in production, and those countries where government cannot fulfill their tasks as providers of minimum income levels and promoters of broader developing inputs.

While the average number of years spent in school has been going up constantly across the world, in the long run an increase in the *dispersion* of years of schooling is evident, because of the *cross-countries inequalities* in education expansion, since some nation expanded education later than other or are not able to implement necessary policies. The global education expansion in the 20th century resulted in a historical reduction in *education inequality* across the globe, and estimation suggest that further reduction in schooling are still expected within developing countries. The recent inequalities are calculated through the Gini coefficient, as *income inequality*. Even if inequality is falling over time, the level is lower for younger generations and this is expected to continue in the future, expanding, as the main resource to income equality, the education levels. Estimations shows that the world will be inhabited by more and more educated people,

while in 1970 there were only around 700 million people educated with secondary and post-secondary education, in 2100 the prediction is 10 times larger.

As already stated, when referring to the education, both quantitative and qualitative factors should be taken into considerations; when invoking to quantitative measures, it refers to years of schooling, rate of attendance, enrollment rate and attainments. But as the years attending school are crucial, the *quality* of this years is also noteworthy.

The most known measurement for cross-country comparison of education quality is the OECD's *Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA),* which has been implemented by all member countries. The test is designed to be comparable across countries and to assess student's knowledge as well as problem solving. Obviously, the test scores cannot be considered as the only evidence of different cultural and educational level across country.

Indeed, the most effective interpretation of education, which coincide with the definition that this paper aims to give, is the Educative system as a *real and productive industry*. The level of richness and wealth of one country, also depend on the *Expenditures* on education that the country has decide to implement.

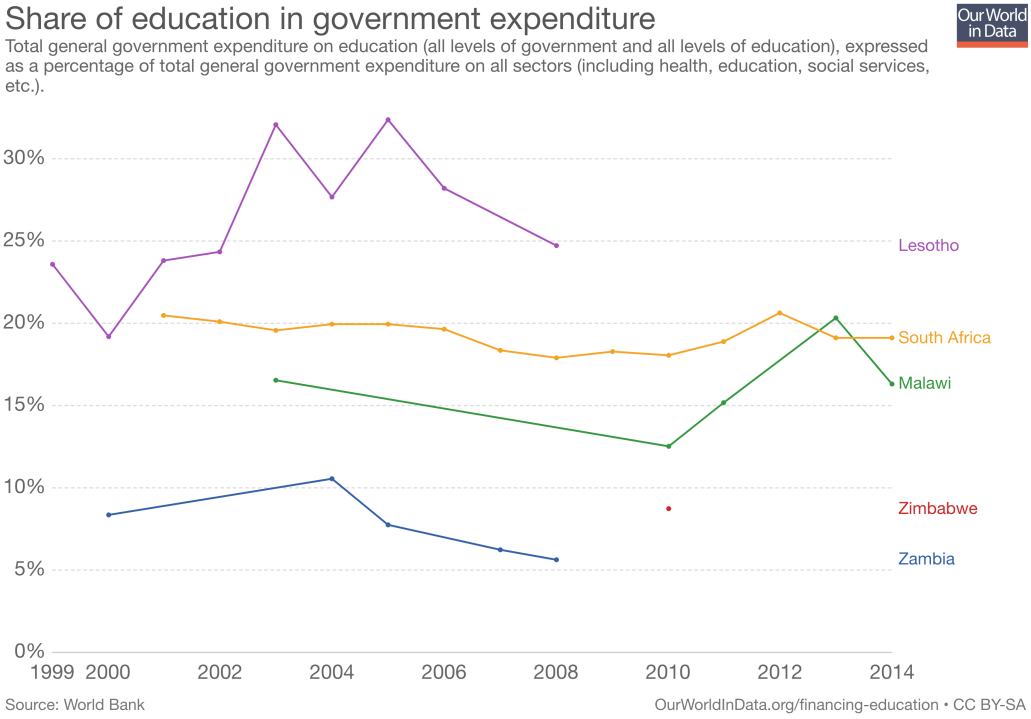
3.2 Government intervention:

Since the mid of 19st century, around the world, industrialized state's government are intended to provide primary education and are perceived as responsible for the general level of education of the country, ensuring the equal access and quality through public funding -the expenditures on education are included in the share of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) as the expansion of education took place through public expenditures. The expansion of education depends therefore primarily on domestic fiscal revenues. However, in many developing countries, these revenues are not sufficient to support the high-quality education. What is very interesting is the different intervention role that governments have, in high and low income countries; The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) estimates that in order to reach the Millennium Development Goals countries should devote approximately 20 per cent of their GDP to domestic expenditure (UNDP 2010).

In European and OECD countries, government education budgets are more relative to the secondary and tertiary levels, while devoting relatively less of their general government budgets to education- *This can be appreciated, where the prioritization of primary education (i.e. the share of primary education within the education budget) is plotted against the overall prioritization of education (i.e. the share of education within the entire government budget)* (M.Roser & E.Ortiz-Ospina). The scenario among developed and developing countries is far different in the share of education spending. In High Income Countries, households contribute the largest of expenses in tertiary education and the smallest share in primary education. *This pattern tends to be progressive, since students from wealthier households are more likely to attend tertiary education, and*

those individuals who attend tertiary education are likely to perceive large private benefits (M.Roser & E.Ortiz-Ospina). In contrast, Low Income Countries households contribute more to primary education than to higher levels, as the Malawi's case suggests, where tertiary education is almost completely subsidized by the state, yet household contribute with almost 20% of the cost in primary education. Primary spending as a share of GDP remained steady in lower middle income countries.

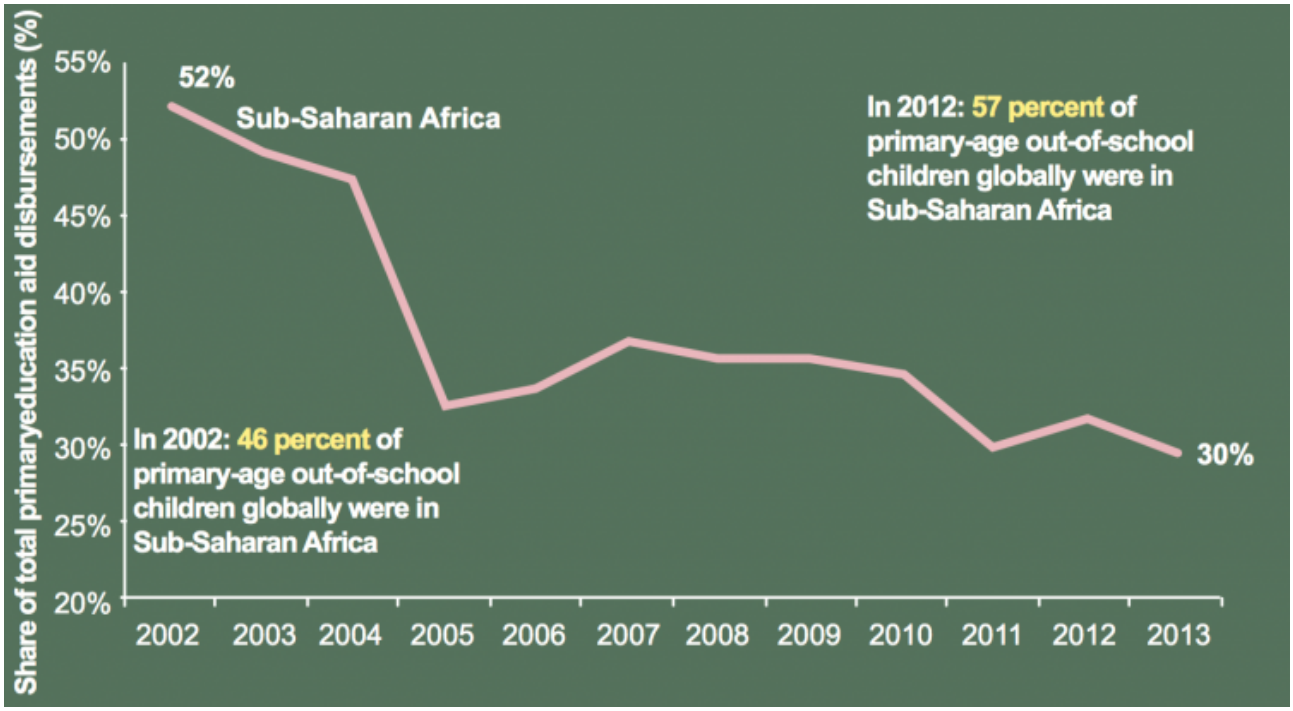
Fig.8 Total general government expenditures on education



Following the *Millennium Development Goals*, an important increase in international financial flows resulted as development assistance in low-income countries in the first decade of the 21st century, with notable aggregate flows going to primary education, that impacted with large distributional effects. The flows of development assistance for education, could be summarized into two different periods: - 2003-2010, where flows for education increased substantially; -2010-2013, where funding for basic education *decreased*, while funding for secondary and post-secondary education remained constant.

For those low-income countries where assistances contribute to the share of education, this marked important changes in the trends; Sub-Saharan Africa's share in total aid to primary education decline from 52% in 2002 to 30% in 2013, while the continent's share in the total number of out-to-school children rose from 46% to 57% (Steer and Smith, 2015).

Fig.9 Percentage of Resources allocated for Education



Sources: OECD-DAC CRS and UNESCO GMR

This less encouraging scenario suggests that growth in spending as a share of GDP has been driven by improved tax collection rather than a greater prioritization of education in overall spending. In addition, spending allocation is often skewed to higher levels of education and to benefit the well-off; UNICEF reports suggests that, on average, the 46% of public resources is allocated to the 10% of students who are the most educated. There is also a *weak positive relationship* between spending per student and educational attainment, with huge variability and some countries spending more and achieving less. So, *it is in the interest of all countries to find the key instruments that will break the cycles of inefficiency and lead to improve quality*. Once the available national budget is set, governments must balance the competing demand of different sectors. The needs of the education sector and the political priority given to it will determine how much of the government budget will be directed towards education (UNICEF, 2015).

Low Income Country's Governments do not need to merely increase the financing flow, but to make smarter choices on how to allocate and spend scarce domestic and international concessional finance, rather than filling the gaps. *Decisions about spending allocation will need to be tailored to country contexts and informed by evidence on where this spending is likely to have biggest impact and generate largest benefits for the society and to build the necessary foundations for equitable schooling throughout the education cycle* (Steer and Smith, 2015).

This suggest the intervention of the governments as policies for school fee abolition, a decrease in repetition,

school proximity, mother tongue education or female teacher are the most effective interventions to increase access and survival (Arnold et al.,2006)

The effects of the different intervention are fundable in many studies. This include both results from individual and pooled effects. The effects, proposed by SEE Database, are formulated as a *percentage of gap closed*, which represents a reduce in being of out school for the target group of the intervention.

Furthermore, preschool changes children's and parents' attitudes and motivation, conduct children readier to go to school and making parents perceive and support them as learners. Children who have gone to preschool have a 74% lower chance of not being enrolled in school. Fee abolition decreases the likelihood that a child will drop out by 41%. Finally, on average, the drop-out rates of children who receive instruction in their mother tongue are 36 % lower than children who do not.

The description of the absolute effects of various interventions needs to be complemented with information on costs. It is not simply the benefits that are important, but also how much benefit a dollar spent on each intervention can bring – especially in financially constrained environments the *Benefit-to-cost ratio for interventions that increase survival (drop-out reduction).*

The most cost-effective measure to improve survival is an intervention that actually saves money and also provides more financial space to increase enrolment: a decline in repetition rates

(UNICEF, 2015).

3.3 Education for Growth:

If the educational system is interpreted as an industry, both demand and supply factors, need to be considered, for the generation of positive externalities and for both social and private return. *Dedicating time and money in education is an investment in human capital. For working agents, having higher educational attainment means have chance for employment and to reduce the risk of unemployment; opportunities in labor market and higher earnings are strong incentives to invest more in education and to post-pone consumption and earnings for future returns* (OECD,2015). Countries, benefit through the reduction of public expenditures on social welfare program earned though taxes, paid once individuals enter in the labor market.

The OECD's indicators provide more accurate information on the incentives to invest in education, considering costs and benefits, including financial returns and internal rate of return, and the opportunity costs that comes by choosing to pursue higher levels of schooling rather than entering in the labor market. Most people, while thinking whether investing in further education, consider more the direct private costs of education than foregone earning, that depend on the length of education but also across countries. In general, *further education yields higher earning overtime.*

Institutions, as well as private agents, need to be sure that they will recover the investment done in education. High levels of education are translated into higher income, in this sense, *investment in education generate public returns as tertiary-educated adults pay higher income taxes and social insurance payment, requiring fewer social transfer* (OECD,2015).

But the plot is more intricate than it seems; using 2010 data of Word Bank Education Statistics and PISA 2010 Data, the correlation between quantity (years of school) and quality measures (education's level), do not imply a perfect causation: there are many factors that simultaneously affect education spending and outcome, but the distribution, around the *fitted values of the trend lines,* shows a substantial dispersion, that implicates a weak correlation between variation in outcomes and differences in expenditures and do not directly explain cross-country differences in learning outcomes.

The more the national income level increases, the thinner the direct relation between spending on education and PISA results becomes; *The fact that expenditures on education do not imply country differences is indicative of the intricate nature of the process by which outcomes are produces* (OECD, 2015). All inputs that in some way interfere with the country's educational level performance, could be summarized into a conceptual framework that indicates factors as determinant of learning outcomes:

- Years of schooling (quantitative measure)
- School and teacher characteristics (quality measure)
- Child characteristics (innate ability, background and social context)
- School inputs under the control of household, such as attendance, effort and homework

Although much of what is necessary to implement in order to experience a rigid educational system, are the financing resources; it is important to understand that more spending does not necessary implies better outcomes. For example, insufficient resources and low quality of education could led to high grade repetition and dropout rates. These phenomena exacerbate the relation between pupils and teachers and implicates a consistent waste of resources, which are dedicated to repetition instead of primary schools.

Find key investments will break cycle of inefficacy and lead to improved quality, and this would implicate to give more attention to reforming school management systems, to the development of and support for teachers, and to the creation of effective information and accountability mechanism with a broader societal and political context (Liesbet Steer and Katie Smith, July 2015).

The entity of the education investment is deeply valuable also for its double impacts on society and on individuals; There are evidence on the private returns as well as social return to education. Descriptively speaking and leaving behind direct causation for a moment, there are evidences of the link between the individual's years of education and the relative income level. In OECD countries, those with the greater level of education, which have completed also tertiary level, will experience relative higher earnings than those with lower levels. Moreover, it is evident that, on average, across countries and sub-national entities,

the employment rates and earnings increase with educational attainment and with the acquisition of higher skills. The highest return to greater skills proficiency accrue individuals who have attained tertiary education, which become larger as they advance in careers and in experiences.

Despite the overwhelming evidences of the positive correlation, it cannot be interpreted causally because individuals, as already seen, are affected by many factors-such as hours worked, experiences- so it is not possible to attribute wage differences only to educational choices but the claiming is empirically evident *to the extent that workers' productivity is related to the knowledge and skills they possess, and that wages reflect such productivity, albeit imperfectly, individual with more skills expect higher returns from labor market participation* (OECD,2015).

From the society point of view, when people are relative more educated and have attained a concrete number of school years, they are more likely to experience and to relate more trust in others and in the surrounding social context, including in the future's count rate.

Illiterate adults lack of that social capacities and cognitive skills that are useful for the creation of the social mental universe, that include trust in others, relationships, self-wellbeing and fruitful activities. They are more expected to become socially hostile, very little productive and with relative trust in the future, translated into economic stagnation for governments, which must spend public funding in social assistance instead of investing it in something else. Adults with higher qualification, instead, are more likely to report desirable social outcomes, including health condition, sex education and preservation from infective illness, participation in political and volunteer activities, that economically speaking, are translate into productive social capital and wellbeing.

Human capital plays several roles in theories of economic growth. In Endogenous Growth Models, human capital is modestly central, when included in the broader concept of sustained growth due to *accumulation* of human capital over time, and when it is intended as *stock* of human capital, which give rise to innovations and ability to adapt and imitate new technologies.

Aggregate education generates positive spill-overs effects for almost everyone; the aggregate education improves a country's ability to innovate, hence enabling *technological progress and sustained growth* (Journal of Economic Literature, Vol. 39, No. 4, 2001).

3.4 Equity and Equality in Education:

"Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages".

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (art. 26)

Exclusion of children from education is the first source of low level of learnings in most developing countries. Approximately, 250 million children do not acquire minimum literacy skills and most of them, UIS (2012) found, come from poorest quintile of households.

Their dimension of inequality includes wealth, urban and rural location and sex. All these dimensions have strong impacts, with poverty generally being the major issue affecting children's likelihood of dropping out or not even entry in school. Inequality starts with *never entry*. Children's life possibilities are strong influenced by the quality of their education. Schools aim at providing children with knowledge, skills and interpersonal competences required for their development, adult life and contributions to economy and society (OECD,2012).

Equity is different from equality. It is associated with ideas of fairness and justice, sometimes added to the concept of equity of access and opportunities. In the conceptual framework defined in the OECD Report *No More Failures*, Equity seems to have two dimensions intertwined: *fairness,* which implies ensuring that the personal and social circumstances do not obstacle the achievement of educational potential; *and inclusion*, which ensure the minimum standard of education for all.

This two dimensions are shaped into *design, practices and resourcing* and work for the advances of the *Ten Steps*, which are part of major policy recommendation, to reduce school failure and dropout. The Benefits of a well distributed education are very large as education is associated with better health, longer life, civic participation and higher income level.

The long-term social and financial costs of educational failure are very high because those without skills to participate socially and economically generate higher costs for health, income support, child welfare and security costs *(OECD,2007)*.

Educational failures are very risks to benefit dependency associated with cost of society and improve educational attainment can pay over the long run, through long-term saving in income transfer, public social program and public health, but also through the increase in tax revenues and higher disposable income for those involved (Statistics Canada and OECD, 2001).

Many different policy approaches could be applied to Equity; some government may prefer to limit social protection to those who suffer very disadvantage situations-providing no more than basic safety net- while others could extend benefits to wider group of societies. These two different approaches depend on their interpretation of equity. *However, what these systems nearly all have in common is that they have aimed to provide a basic network of social protection to reduce social risks and they have promoted mass education as a vehicle for equity* (Esping-Andersen, 2002). The balance of public education expenditures by level of education has a major impact on equity because the most marginalized and poorest quintile are *de facto* excluded from the highest level of education, and do not finish even the primary education.

Although living standards have improved in most developed countries and welfare system have been expanding, the income inequality has tended to increase. This distribution of income depends on earning, employment and capital income, and on how government redistributes income through taxes and transfers (OECD, 2007).

While focusing on social protection, cohesion and education, countries work to reduce and act upon poverty and income inequality, and education is the indispensable factor to this strategy. Education is recognized as determinant of economic growth and individual life chances, also in terms of wages and opportunities and non-economic outcomes, and without it, social transfers and profitable exchange would be difficult to experience and the development, technological level and general well-being will paralyze in a *steady-state condition*.

The concept of Equity could be enlarged in that of *social equity,* when admitting that education is a powerful determinant of life. A recent OECD study shows that education is a major contributor to the inheritance of economic advantages across generations and through social stratification, but by the same token is the most accessible policy instrument available to increase intergenerational income mobility (OECD, 2006a). All European Member States are called to support both efficiency and equity in education, as *mutually reinforcing* (Council of the European Union, 2006).

Numerous barriers have been recognized to the completion of school years, in addition to poverty-related factors, age and *gender* factors are strong influencer of the school attendance outcomes.
In low middle income countries, the gender gap is still not overcome; in sub-Saharan Africa-for example, the ratio is 93 over 100 and in 2014, 54% of countries globally had not achieved gender parity in lower secondary-education, while upper-secondary school was 77% (UNESCO, 2016).
Governments should simultaneously work to lower the direct costs of schooling for girls and to cut down opportunity costs of their restricted access to quality education, that weak their human capital value and prevent them to apply to further levels of education.
The Cash-Transfer programs work for delaying marriage and adolescent pregnancy, to reinforce the sexual and reproductive health education and to ensure their access to school programs. Discriminatory social practices, social norms and informal laws, such as early marriage and gender roles also cut their education in adolescence (Ferrant et al., 2014), so burdening them with more tasks, such as housework responsibilities, would occupy their time otherwise dedicated to education.
Equivalently, the decision to abandon school often come just as they get married or in the wake of pregnancy.

The evidences of the documentation are conclusive: *equity in education pays off*. The highest performing

education across countries are those that combine high quality and equity. In such education systems, the clear majority of students can attain high level skills and knowledge that depend on their ability and drive, more than on their socio-economic background.

This chapter has analyzed how the benefits of investing in equity in education outweigh the costs for both individuals and societies and why equity can and should go together with quality. Furthermore, it shows that investing in equity in education is economically efficient, if investments are made early on, both in short and long term. (OECD, 2012).

3.5 Cash Transfers as a poverty reduction strategy in Africa

The cash transfers have been recognized as a useful and profitable large-scale experiments that aid poorest house-hold and report the evidences on the impacts of national cash-transfer in SSA, to inform the development, implementation and design of the transfer policies and program based on evidence, through the work and engagement of national governments and private donors.

The key components of the evaluations analyzed across the last two chapters are:

- Kenya Cash Transfer For orphans and Vulnerable Children (CT-OVC)
- Lesotho Cash Grants Programme (CGP)
- Malawi Social Cash Transfer Programme (SCTP)
- Zambia Child Grant Programme (CGP)
- Zimbabwe's Harmonized Social Cash Transfer Programme
- South Africa Child Support Grant

Although specific program objectives vary, all programs were designed with poverty-related objectives, including the improvement of food security, health and education of children, and household resilience to negative shocks. Most of them have the key characteristics of government programming demographic profiles, and unconditional transfers. A crucial element of programming is the inclusion of *vulnerability criteria*, in addition to poverty-based targeting criteria (UNICEF, 2017).

Among the targeted categories, nearly all countries include components that give priority to labor-constrained households, or households caring for orphans and vulnerable children (OVCs), driven, in part, by the HIV pandemic. All the transfer projects evaluation is based on multiple methodologies to answer evaluation questions, including quantitative impact evaluation using quasi-experimental or experimental longitudinal design, operations and costing studies (Davis et al. 2016).

The Cash Transfer Programmes are subjected to some arguments that may diminish the effectiveness of unconditional transfers. One fear is that targeted household would be more induced to spend their money on temptation goods or luxury items, tobacco or alcohol, instead of investing, either in human capital or productive activities.

The possibility of transfers being fully consumed is certainly valid, as the average beneficiary household in

the transfer project evaluations is well below the poverty line and faces chronic food insecurity. Thus, we might expect that the households would spend the bulk of the transfer on meeting immediate basic needs, including food and shelter, rather than making longer-term investments. Undoubtedly, the use of transfers for short-term basic needs may still be considered investments if they help maintain the human capital of children through better nutrition and increased capacity to learn. However, the basic perception that cash is used for short-term consumption needs, instead of invested in productive and human capital, has implications for both the sustainability of impacts as well as the overall objectives assigned to programs (UNICEF, 2017).

To complement these findings, if we focus on the impacts on children's education, especially on secondary school age enrollment, as the largest financial barrier to schooling and where drop-outs begin, we can see that the impacts on secondary schooling enrollment were significant in five evaluations and *although enrollment is only one indicator of schooling investment, a systematic review of the relative effectiveness of conditional and unconditional cash transfers for schooling outcomes in developing countries showed significant impacts on a range of schooling outcomes in both types of programme* (Baird et al. 2013).

Households are not only utilizing transfers for immediate subsistence needs, but also using the transfer for investment in productive activities and human capital for their children (UNICEF, 2017).

Another common perception about unconditional transfer is the fact that they may create dependency in poor families, that will work less and become lazy dependent of the transfer. But the results are greatly different, cash transfers have not been found to reduce labor supply in a meaningful way. Thus, the idea of "lazy recipients" is simple not reliable. Indeed, the potential for a supply response to increased demand for goods and services, coupled with increased productive investment and output by beneficiary households, which leads to spillover effects. More easily, if households spend more in the local economy, demand for goods will increase.

Cash Transfer do not only provide the inclusion in the cash-based market and local economy, but give back, to the beneficiary households, dignity, empowerment, and recovery. It is crucial to interpret their role as social assistant and as live hood experiences that work to increase the resilience to economic shock of poor household.

It is also a point of departure, when families decide to invest the capital instead to consume it in the short-term. The force of cash transfer lies in the capacity to coordinate, foster the dialogue between providers and recipients, to share experience to the governments with social protection systems and to give developing programs that may be applied to different scenarios and evolve into sustainable achieved goals.

Conclusion:

It is odd to say now that education is not a simple and unique explainable concept. It is better an intertwined and interdependent system of number of factors, agents and relative consequences whose impacts are recognizable and useful in the long-run and the results may become realities.

This is so, because, when referring to education, is crucial to bear in mind that, from the first step into schools to the last out, during the graduation day, in every moment, each educational choice is crucial for the final ending results.

In current times, without a serious and valuable curriculum vitae and the respective educational path, the life possibilities to meet well-being and well-payed job, are very restricted. Education is a journey, that starts in pre-schools, continues through elementary, middle, high and probably never *de facto* finishes. Every step and every choice count on the road of success.

Scholarship and Learning process play a vital role to a good and productive life as it improves the values of life and findings, but, most important, they eradicate the chains of poverty.

The work that education does in the rupture of the cycle of poverty, exists in the short-run, creating in the psychology of the child awareness of its capacities and interests, that would make him/her capable to understand in what their capacities could be exploited and what may become their work in the future, and continue to be reinforced in the long-run, entering in the job-world, being capable to provide independently to its necessities and have high living conditions.

We have seen that, on the rate of educational attainment, the most influencing factor is the level of proficiency of children's families and their analogous income level.

Indeed, studies shows that children born in well-educated families, will continue to study until graduation and will, consequently, intensifying the battle against poverty cycle.

The productive cycle will enter at that point, having skilled and productive human capital that strive for be hired in the work context.

Literacy does impact on social relations, supplying individuals with moral codes, ethics, being responsible parents, son, daughters and even voters.

Many social factors also affect school attendance, including the need to provide child care for ill-discipline, and neglect or abuse of children.

Educated human-beings are armed of the capacity to handle diseases and general health problems, preventing risks of infection and awareness of illness residuals.

In Sub-Saharan Africa, as well as other developing regions, education has been recognized as the most effective form of prevention against AIDS, HIV and sexual abuses of children.

Low income is an inexorable constraint to accessing education in Sub-Saharan Africa, not only because of various schooling-related costs, such as school fees, uniforms and shoes, but also costs related to food and transport. These costs and pressures can cause children to miss days of school or even drop out, and are also related to risky behaviors among older children, such as transactional sex, begging and inferior crime.

To the extent that access to education is driven by economic stresses, it follows that the *Cash Transfer* Programs and *Child Support Grant* could mitigate these constraints and could work against children's tendencies to skip school or drop out. Several recipients confirmed that CSG and CTP have an important positive impact on facilitating the access to education.
These factors are often symptoms of *'poverty syndrome'* which is complex but can also be alleviated indirectly by social grants.

Another factor that relates to education directly, is the level of quality schooling, which includes poor quality schooling and teachers. These issues are unlikely to be resolved or even alleviated by the CSG unless receiving the grant allows caregivers to send children to better schools; these issues require complementary interventions to improve the quality of education services.

On the other hand, children outside schools, especially those living in low-income communities, have diversified option of raising money for the family, and very often, these activities interfere with the child's education pathway, which consequently, skips classes, misses school days and so the participation in class is compromised and reduced.

Cash Transfer intervene in these dynamics, assuring, with unconditional transfers, an amount of income that would substitute the child work earnings and cover the opportunity costs to send the child to school instead to let him work in farming, increasing the possibilities of children to access and constantly attend lessons.

What this paper, at the end, wants to suggest is a new system of subsidies, based on the mutual collaboration between national governments and international institutions.

The problem of financing education is very acute in Africa, mainly because as the number of higher education increases, the public resources allocated to current expenditure in the sector, do not follow the same path of increment and cannot afford to cover the entire expenditures.

Educational institutions play a crucial role in society's knowledge nerve center, where the concentration of numerous qualified agents, can engage in innovative research that contributes to the national development.

Indeed, the knowledge and applied research, in support of entrepreneurship and research and development, are recognized as the key resources of growth in global economy, to industry competitiveness and economic growth.

When governments decide whether allocate the money resources to push the economy, they find themselves in front of several possibilities; with limited ability to invest in infrastructure or research, they minimum contribute to African universities to international academic research.

This issue of financing education, should be always considered simultaneously to the development and strengthen of education sector. Allocation of resources in every educational sector, involves trade-offs with other sectors. The increase of the number of higher education students is related to the progress achieved in other areas, such as universal primary school enrollment or secondary enrollment.

Therefore, the qualitative and quantitative improvement of different level of education should not be view as isolate, but in a coordinated and consistent context that work for the development of other sectors, such as business sector, commercial sector, industrial and agricultural sector.
The potential to develop higher education depends on choices made as part of flow management (policies to manage enrollment) and financial trade- offs at each education level within the framework of limited resources. When this decision is taken, the award-based policy making will intervene, assisting, not only theoretically but also monetary, the governments that decide to dedicate their resources to school investments as the first step for the boost of the economy.
This would incentivize the other countries to allocate resources for educational investments, also knowing that would receive monetary assistance, from international institutions, in return.

Otherwise, the repercussion of poor funding will be dramatic in the future. Students will not succeed in pursue further studies because of the lack of funding mechanism for the support and a lack of quality courses and teaching staff to maintain higher-level programs.

Poor funding will consistently diminish the incentive for high-level faculty to remain in the academic or research field when other sectors are more profitable.

Thus, while social demand for access to higher education will continue to rise, as the growth of population continues to rise, the number of new academics joining the system will decline.

If the status quo persists, Sub- Saharan African countries will face a severe shortage of faculty at a time when high-level skills and research capacity are needed most.

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Abstract:

Il sistema educativo, così come lo si intende e percepisce nel 21 esimo secolo, ricopre un ruolo fondamentale nella vita di gran parte della popolazione mondiale. Il fatto che accompagni i primi decenni della vita di milioni di persone, lo si individua, sin dal principio, come uno dei fattori più influenti nello sviluppo della personalità dell'individuo, nella acquisizione di *skills*, che definiranno il percorso futuro lavorativo.

L'educazione promuove la tolleranza, l'inclusione, la protezione, la consapevolezza ed ha enormi impatti nel mantenimento della pace interna e nei rapporti con gli altri paesi. Il livello generale di educazione, determina la forza del capitale umano nazionale, ed è anche una preziosa fonte di ricchezza per i paesi che sanno come preservarla, rinforzarla, e aggiornarla.

Il capitale umano è forza lavoro, è produzione ma prima di tutto è innovazione e sviluppo. Mantenere il passo e ricercare sempre nuovi mezzi per migliorare le esperienze di vita quotidiana, è possibile solo quando si ha una struttura in grado di reggere costi e shock economici, che possono essere tenuti sotto controllo solo quando le risorse vengono allocate con criterio e investite in soluzioni sostenibili e a lungo termine. Tra gli investimenti a lungo termine vi è proprio la qualità della formazione educativa, della sua distribuzione e funzionalità.

Quando ci si riferisce al sistema educativo, o all'educazione in termini generali, sono molti i fattori che devono essere presi in considerazione. Il primo, fra tutti, è quello che si interessa della qualità e omogeneità della distribuzione dei sistemi educativi, volgendo lo sguardo non solo verso i paesi sviluppati, dove alcuni più di altri risultano essere fallimentari nella qualità quanto nella distribuzione, ma prendendo in considerazione quei paesi, che per mancanza di risorse, capitale, forza lavoro e tecniche di *Research & Development,* falliscono nell'intervenire a favore delle popolazioni più povere, inasprendo quindi sempre di più il circolo di povertà a cui questi sono inevitabilmente sottomessi.
Molto spesso, la situazione è aggravata dalla incapacità gestionale dei governi nazionali; accade spesso che quest'ultimi vadano ad integrare con misure molto poco efficienti, che puntano molto sulla quantità, piuttosto che la qualità, settore in cui invece sarebbe opportuno intervenire se si vogliono ottenere risultati che facciano uscire da una situazione di *steady-state*.

Nelle regioni sotto-sviluppate, quali l'Africa Sub-Sahariana, la popolazione meno abbiente non raggiunge i livelli minimi di alfabetizzazione e non risulta quindi essere in grado di fornire adeguate risorse per l'intera famiglia, spesso composta minimo dalle 5 alle 8 persone.

Quando un bambino si ritrova a vivere un disagio sociale di questa portata, che non gli permette di soddisfare le necessità basiche, è molto difficile che si riescano a spezzare le catene della schiavitù a qui è sottomesso, senza il minimo supporto esterno. I bambini dei distretti più poveri, vengono sì, mandati a scuola, ma nel corso del tempo, le difficoltà da sostenere, tra cui i costi, cibo, divise, quaderni e libri, sono sempre più pressanti e costringono le famiglie a far abbandonare il contesto scolastico ai propri figli, spesso quando già il percorso è iniziato, per farli entrare in quello dello sfruttamento lavorativo minorile. Tutto ciò provoca nella mente dei soggetti un doppio shock: l'aver dovuto lasciare un contesto che li proteggesse dallo sfruttamento, sommato allo sconvolgimento del dover accettare una vita senza possibilità di alternativa.

L'organizzazione delle Nazioni Unite per l'Educazione, la Scienza e la Cultura, così come il Fondo Nazioni Unite per l'infanzia (UNICEF) e Food and Agriculture Organization for United Nations (FAO), hanno constatato che lì dove il tasso di assenteismo scolastico è molto alto, fattori come il livello di povertà, il background familiare in cui i bambini vivono e la zona di residenza, sono impattanti quanto decisivi del risultato finale.

Nonostante, nei paesi in via di sviluppo, il sistema educativo si stia rafforzando, anche grazie all'intervento di programmi delle istituzioni internazionali, l'accesso a scuola e l'acquisizione di un titolo di studio sembrano persistere come fenomeni dell'élite, invece di essere inserite nel sistema di massa.
Se così non fosse, cioè se non si riuscisse ad estendere universalmente l'accesso, gli istituti sarebbero sempre più frequentati da studenti provenienti da contesti familiari facoltosi, che una volta completati i livelli primari e secondari di istruzione, dominerebbero il settore terziario (universitario), non permettendo agli studenti provenienti da contesti disagiati, di entrare e acquisire nuove conoscenze. Anche perché quest'ultimi, come già citato prima, nonostante riescano ad accedere a strutture scolastiche, sono molto più soggetti all'abbandono, dopo qualche anno.

Questo porterebbe ad una completa emarginazione dei ceti meno abbienti, che continuando ad avere sempre meno, divengono un peso cospicuo per il bilancio statale, poiché, questi, non essendo in grado di provvedere autonomamente ai loro bisogni primari, necessitano di sussidi, i quali il governo non è in grado di assegnare per mancanza di fondi pubblici. Molti dei paesi dell'Africa Sub-sahariana hanno riconosciuto l'educazione come motore per lotta alla povertà, e forniscono collaborazione e informazioni alle istituzioni internazionali che stanno lavorando, attraverso programmi di trasferimento monetario, sotto forma di sussidi per le famiglie sotto la soglia di estrema povertà.
Tuttavia, la situazione in Africa Sub-Sahariana non sembra essere migliorata; è ancora la regione con il tasso più alto di *out-of-school children*, per ogni fascia d'età. Approssimativamente, dei 63 milioni di bambini che non riescono a beneficiare del sistema educativo, almeno 34 milioni vivono in Africa Sub-Sahariana. Senza contare quel 21% di bambini che è totalmente deprivato dal diritto allo studio.

La conoscenza è ciò che muove e da vita all'innovazione, all'ingegno e alla produzione. Questi fattori portano alla crescita economica, che è possibile solo costruendo un cospicuo capitale umano, attraverso sistemi educativi facilmente accessibili, di migliore qualità e basati sul merito. Un altro fattore che incide drasticamente sulla certezza di accedere al sistema scolastico e di completarlo, ma in generale sul futuro degli studenti, è l'ineguaglianza di genere.

Attraverso tutta la regione africana, la categoria che è più soggetta a meccanismi di privazione e di isolamento è proprio quella femminile, il cui disagio viene rafforzandosi nell'età adolescenziale. Le donne sono portate a vivere in un contesto piuttosto limitante che finisce molto spesso per essere anche discriminante.

Sin da bambina, non le viene riconosciuta alcuna libertà di scelta ne alternativa, se non quella all'interno delle mura domestiche. Le bambine spesso non riescono ad accedere nemmeno al primo livello di istruzione, essendo soggette al volere della famiglia che spesso, per motivazioni puramente religiose e culturali, le confina nelle mura di una casa, con l'unica possibilità di essere figlia, moglie e madre, senza il minimo titolo di studio. Questo fenomeno le rende sempre più schiave del mondo circostante, vittime incapaci di reagire poiché sterili di mezzi con cui farlo e vulnerabili a shock di tipo economico che potrebbero spingerle sempre di più ai margini della società, non essendo in grado di rispondere ai propri bisogni in modo autonomo.

Contemporaneamente però, quando la parità di genere nell'accesso scolastico è più evidente, ovvero quando la percentuale di donne che accedono al sistema educativo raggiunge un livello consistente a quello degli uomini, le probabilità che la donna finisca e completi il suo ciclo scolastico sono molto più alte rispetto a quella di un uomo, che spesso si trova a dover abbandonare il percorso intrapreso, a metà strada.

Lo scenario soprastante può e deve cambiare, e sarebbe possibile solo attraverso un'attenta e precisa collaborazione tra i paesi che hanno sconfitto il problema dell'analfabetismo e quelli che invece, necessitano di investimenti e assistenza al fine di migliorare e sviluppare un contesto economico e sociale più adatto alle famiglie e alle generazioni future.

La modifica della situazione corrente, non è solo determinata dal raggiungimento di un sistema educativo imparziale e di qualità, ma dipende soprattutto dall'incidenza che i governi hanno, senza dubbio fondamentale, nella scelta del percorso politico da intraprendere e nelle priorità contenute nel programma stesso.

Come regola economica generale, quando è necessario aumentare il profitto, la soluzione più comune è quella della diversificazione dell'offerta. Applicato al sistema educativo, vorrebbe dire che i governi devono avere

la capacità di diversificare la possibilità di scelta del percorso universitario, offrendo il più possibile, contesti che siano utili e necessari nel mondo del lavoro moderno e futuro.

Così facendo, si otterrebbe una forza lavoro molto più qualificata e diversificata in quanto a preparazione, in grado di sviluppare ottime performance nell'ambito lavorativo, con conseguente incremento della produttività e nello sviluppo di nuove competenze.

In Africa Sub-Sahariana, un importante ruolo nel settore terziario, lo ricoprono gli enti privati, i quali, negli ultimi anni hanno dimostrato un'incredibile influenza soprattutto in ambito delle politiche economico-sociali. Questo perché il settore pubblico spesso non riesce a rispondere alla sempre più crescente domanda per il terziario, e non dispone nemmeno dei fondi necessari per poter rispondere alle necessità del mondo del lavoro, il quale è in espansione e richiede lavoratori sempre più qualificati.

L'espansione e diversificazione del settore terziario non possono far altro che risultare in una migliore performance economica. Dal punto di vista dell'offerta, è il risultato di un maggiore finanziamento attraverso la formula del sussidio, dal punto di vista della domanda, invece, è il soddisfacimento alla richiesta di settori universitari non tradizionali, con un forte impatto sul mercato del lavoro.

Riuscire a mantenere un livello costante di frequentazione dei corsi e delle lezioni, ha inevitabilmente costi da sostenere, diretti e indiretti. I costi diretti, ovvero le spese che ogni famiglia deve sostenere nell'immediato per mandare i propri figli a scuola, sono una spiacevole barriera all'accesso incondizionato nelle scuole. I costi indiretti invece, anche conosciuti come costi di opportunità, equivalgono alla momentanea perdita di entrate che una famiglia subisce, dal momento in cui i figli scelgono di continuare a studiare piuttosto che entrare nel mondo del lavoro e ricevere uno stipendio. Questa perdita però, verrà reintegrata nel lungo termine, quando una volta terminati gli studi, il soggetto entrerà a far parte del mondo del lavoro, e più sarà professionalmente competente, più il suo stipendio coprirà i costi di opportunità degli anni passati.
Il ragionamento va da sé; maggiore e approfondita è la preparazione e la competenza, in uno o più contesti, maggiore sarà il valore della forza lavoro e maggiore sarà il ritorno economico. Da questo punto di vista è quindi necessario creare un sistema di sussidi sociali, che possa creare condizioni favorevoli alla riduzione dei livelli di povertà e che permetta in fine, di mettere in piedi un percorso di crescita economica sostenibile, la quale trova le sue radici proprio nel sistema educativo.
Quando si applica una politica di questo genere, che punti al cambiamento degli outcomes piuttosto che agli inputs, la prima cosa da fare è una valutazione su quali riforme un governo dovrebbe portare avanti per raggiungere determinati obbiettivi, cercando di limitare gli sprechi al minimo. Questo ragionamento avviene attraverso una prospettiva basata sull' *Evidence-based Policy making,* che sostanzialmente si interessa più dei risultati scaturiti dalle decisioni prese, piuttosto che sugli input che hanno portato al risultato ottenuto.

Questo tipo di metodo, dettagliato in numerose tecniche di collezione di informazioni, include la presenza di interviste, le cui riposte determinano il tipo di metodo da applicare per rendere la Teoria del Cambiamento più tangibile.

La Teoria del Cambiamento è fondamentale per la descrizione di come, i fattori individuati, sono utili per il raggiungimento degli obbiettivi preposti. Questo grazie al principio basato sulla causa-effetto; che esplora le condizioni e presupposti necessari per far sì che il cambiamento avvenga, mostrando esplicitamente la logica causale del programma, la mappa di questo e gli interventi necessari.

Sin dal 2008, organizzazioni internazionali, tra cui FAO e UNICEF, utilizzano questo metodo di ricerca, in collaborazione con i governi nazionali. L'applicazione di questo metodo è visibile nei Programmi di Trasferimento Monetari, originariamente detti *Cash Transfer Programs,* i quali funzionano proprio grazie alle evidenze riportate sulla effettiva validità che i progetti mostrano, nel raggiungere i soggetti protagonisti (Bambini, Famiglie, Villaggi), nel provvedere informazioni necessarie per lo sviluppo di politiche governative e per la promozione di progetti multilaterali internazionali.

Un alto numero di Trasferimenti è stato istituito in Africa Sub-Sahariana, essendo stato riconosciuto come risolutivo per la lotta alla povertà e alla fame e come fattore influenzante dell'andamento scolastico degli studenti.
I paesi che in particolare vengono presi in considerazione e di cui, all'interno della tesi se ne elabora un'analisi approfondita riguardo la loro struttura, organizzazione, tecniche di collezione di informazione e metodi di ricerca, sono cinque: Malawi, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Lesotho e Sud Africa.
I cinque paesi sono stati sottoposti all'esperimento di trasferimento monetario, attuando una politica che non imponesse condizioni, a coloro che usufruivano del sussidio.

Non imporre condizioni significa non provvedere, ai soggetti interessati, un metodo prestabilito con cui spendere i soldi loro affidatigli. Questi, sono liberi di decidere se utilizzare il denaro per l'immediato, comprendendo quindi cibo, vestiti e medicine o se investirli per un progetto a lungo termine. Le uniche indicazioni che le famiglie sono portate a seguire, chiedono di dedicare una notevole parte del denaro alla tutela dei bambini e della loro frequenza scolastica.

Nella maggior parte dei casi, particolarmente in Africa, la scelta di non imporre condizioni e di lasciare che gli individui scelgano liberamente a cosa destinare il loro sussidio, rende il programma molto più efficiente e di maggiore impatto.
Le famiglie povere che sono al centro dei programmi di trasferimento, incarnano anche un canale attraverso il quale il contante entra nelle economie locali.

Mentre i beneficiari spendono i loro trasferimenti, la domanda locale aumenta. Se la produzione locale si espande per soddisfare questa domanda, i programmi di trasferimento di denaro possono creare moltiplicatori di reddito; ogni dollaro trasferito può aumentare il reddito locale di oltre un dollaro.

Il progetto di trasferimento crea, inoltre, un'agenda regionale per l'apprendimento della protezione sociale utilizzando approcci comparabili e rigorosi per valutare l'impatto dei programmi di trasferimento in Africa Sub-Sahariana che, pur essendo unici, hanno caratteristiche simili. Attraverso questo approccio, il progetto di trasferimento spera di generare esternalità e fomentare l'apprendimento transnazionale in tutta l'Africa.

Le sovvenzioni in denaro, inoltre, consentono alle famiglie povere di prendere decisioni sull'impiego e su diverse decisioni di investimento.
Come già detto, inoltre, li consentono di partecipare a un'attività economica produttiva e migliorare la produttività attuale e futura dei nuclei familiari.

Questa iniezione di risorse aumenta la spesa per consumi di beni e servizi e contribuisce al miglioramento delle condizioni generali e del benessere dei membri della famiglia e dei loro bambini.

La forza dei trasferimenti risiede nella capacità di coordinare il dialogo tra finanziatori e beneficiari, dando quindi ai governi una struttura e una linea guida per la concreta applicazione di un sistema di protezione sociale che evolva nel raggiungimento degli obiettivi preposti.

Il rafforzamento del sistema educativo non è un fenomeno che va da sé, ma è piuttosto inserito in un contesto di coordinamento con altri settori, quali quello commerciale e di sviluppo economico che soffrono e dipendono dal *trend* del sistema educativo.

Il potenziale sviluppo di quest'ultimo è quindi il primo passo per il conseguente rafforzamento delle politiche interne, per le politiche dedite allo sviluppo e per incentivare i paesi ad allocare risorse per ulteriori investimenti, consapevoli, in cambio, di ricevere assistenza dalle istituzioni internazionali.

I governi devono essere in grado di prevenire il fallimento scolastico e di ridurre l'assenteismo, come stabilito dalla Agenda Globale per lo Sviluppo Sostenibile, che pone tra i primi cinque obiettivi la sicurezza di un'educazione di qualità, equa ed inclusiva, e opportunità di apprendimento per tutti.